

The Nation.

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The Week.

ON the 8th of the month the Senate did little more than ask the President for information concerning Minister Washburn's affair with Lopez. On Wednesday the session was a short one. The President sent in his message, and but a little of it had been read when Mr. Conness, who is not the most cold-blooded of men, moved that the further reading be dispensed with. He pronounced Mr. Johnson's language, where he speaks of certain Congressional enactments as being unconstitutional, to be insulting and unendurable. There was a good deal of talk on the one side and the other, and Mr. Edmunds finally moved to adjourn, which the Senate did. On Thursday, Senators had had time to think the matter over, to see that they were aggrandizing Mr. Johnson more than there was any need, and probably to see, too, that Congress is not so exclusively the legislative branch of the Government that the President may not have his say concerning acts, as he has concerning bills. At all events, the message was ordered to be read, and then Senator Frelinghuysen rose and delivered a carefully prepared and not ungraceful eulogium on the Congressional policy of reconstruction, and the party which approves it. On the same day there was a long debate on the House bill to transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department. There is very little doubt that this will be done, and none at all that it ought to be done. Mr. Hendricks, however, opposed it, and so did Mr. Doolittle, each asserting that, though there might be corruption in the present management of Indian affairs, there would be as much if army officers were entrusted with the expenditures. This, although it is notorious that no greater rascals disgrace the public service than Indian agents and commissioners. The whiskey ring steals more in a given length of time: but the Indian agents not only steal: they steal from starving people; and not only that, but their robbery of the ignorant savages helps, every little while, to set them loose on the white settlers, whom the Indians kill with powder and ball that the agencies have very likely furnished them. The bill was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, some of whom were indignant that there should be any talk of referring it to the Committee on Military Affairs, which latter body is all ready to report upon it favorably. The former will not, however, be able to pigeon-hole the matter this time, as was the case a couple of years ago. On Monday of this week the Senate received the petition of the Union League Club of this city asking for a committee to investigate the late election frauds in New York. Mr. Morton brought forward the financial bill he has been working on.

Senator Morton's bill prohibits all future sales of gold coin, and directs the accumulation of such specie as the Treasury may not need to pay its debts until Jan. 1, 1870, at which date the Secretary is to redeem in coin all United States notes and fractional currency "that

may be presented for redemption," and is to issue a new loan. The banks are to resume two years later. The absence from the bill of any directing rule as to the amount of coin the Secretary is to have in his hands when he begins to redeem, renders the measure utterly illusory, if not mischievous. Whether the attempt to return to specie payments in 1870 will prove a failure or a success, depends on the proportion which the amount of coin the Government may have in its possession, derived either from surplus revenue or from the sale of new bonds, bears on the appointed day to the paper that is to be taken up. If it has not by that time succeeded in securing from some source or other at least \$130,000,000, or, as many would probably insist, \$200,000,000, in gold, not needed for the payment of its debts or the expenses of administration, the proposed redemption will prove, as we pointed out last week, a fiasco on a great scale. In fact, long before that time the real state of the case would be so plain to everybody that if the requisite amount did not seem likely to be forthcoming, the Morton bill would probably be repealed. Any bill providing for resumption, to be effective, and not to impose on the public, must provide, first, for the accumulation of money in the Treasury, either by savings or fresh loans, and then for redemption, not on a fixed day, but when the amount of specie accumulated bears a certain proportion to the amount of greenbacks to be redeemed. There is no good reason for waiting a year to resume, if the means can be had sooner.

The House began the week by rejecting with contumely some impudent resolutions of the Oregon Legislature. That assembly requested the Senators of the State to resign, as being persons who had assisted in tyrannizing over the South. Mr. Fernando Wood thought the request was not at all "scandalous, impertinent, and indecorous," but the House took Mr. Washburne's view of it. The House afterwards passed the Indian Bureau bill by a majority of 83; referred to the Judiciary Committee a bill offered by General Butler to repeal the Tenure-of-Office Act; and finally listened to some remarks from Mr. Robinson—known as "Fenian Robinson"—who thought that the United States should at once declare war against the United Kingdom. Mr. Fernando Wood felt compelled to join with his colleague in urging the same request, horrible as war is. The House adjourned without taking action in the matter. On the 9th instant, Mr. Bingham, of the Reconstruction Committee, introduced a bill providing for the holding of an election in Virginia on the 20th of January. A long debate followed, and finally an amendment was adopted, which sets the 20th of May next as the time of election. This was General Butler's proposal. He took the ground that next month the laborers would have to make their annual contracts with their employers, and would be greatly at their master's mercy; whereas in May they would be able to live whether their masters set them adrift or not. The first statement seems just. As for the second, May is a good month for the proposed purpose, because just at that season masters will not feel at all disposed to set their hirelings adrift, though if that should happen there would be a vast deal of what the negroes call "tight livin'" before the corn came in, and probably some little starving.

The debate on this subject was interrupted by the receipt of the President's message, which was read and treated with contempt. The repudiation part of it called forth from Mr. Broomall a denunciatory resolution, and from Mr. Schenck and other members several speeches, which will prevent the President's doctrine from doing any harm at home or abroad. On Thursday, the Military Committee proposed that one or more institutions of learning in each State should be supplied with a detailed officer of the army, who shall give instruction in military matters. After the recess, on Monday last,

the House instructed the Reconstruction Committee to investigate the Ku-Klux outrages in Tennessee. On the same day Mr. Broomall's resolution, declaring that all forms of repudiation are odious to the American people, was adopted. The vote on suspending the rules so as to allow of its introduction was a party vote, and stood 135 to 29. The vote on moving the previous question—which passed the resolution—showed a still heavier majority, there being only six voices in the negative. In the Senate, when this matter came up, there appeared to be a greater proportional number of persons who are not yet convinced of the truth of the proposition above laid down. Mr. Fernando Wood offered a resolution, which was adopted, directing the Committee on Public Expenditures to find out the facts about the alleged improper use of two millions of dollars of the Alaska purchase money. Finally, before adjourning, the Secretary of State was asked to inform the House if he has sent a commissioner to Spain, and if so, why.

Mr. Johnson's message appeared just after we had gone to press last week, but though it created a disturbance on a small scale, both in the House and the Senate, and has been the subject of a good deal of comment in the press, there was hardly anything in it worth recalling at this date. He reiterated, almost in the old language, his objections to the Congressional plan of reconstruction, treating the acts passed in furtherance of it as unconstitutional, with as much coolness and gravity as if the question had never come up or been discussed before. He then propounded a scheme for the repudiation of the public debt, which is, in some respects, better than Pendleton's, inasmuch as it involves the payment of gold instead of paper; but it is, on the whole, more impudent than any plan of repudiation yet devised. It consists in an arrangement with the bondholders, by which all payments of interest shall be counted as payments of principal, so that a bondholder, who receives six dollars a year for sixteen years and a fraction, shall be considered as having received full payment of one hundred dollars of principal. Mr. Johnson's chief argument in favor of this scheme is, that if the creditors do not agree to be cheated to this extent, the debtors will, probably, and not unreasonably, cheat them outright. We see, however, that Brick Pomeroy claims the idea as his, and having two newspapers at his disposal, will probably manage to eclipse Mr. Johnson, and hand himself down to posterity as its real author. The message shed no light on the Alabama negotiations, to aid in which Caleb Cushing has been sent over, Mr. Reverdy Johnson having apparently alarmed the State Department.

Senator Wilson has brought in a bill increasing the number of Judges of the Supreme Court to fourteen, besides the Chief-Justice. The New York Tribune says that "the bill finds a motive in the undoubted pressure of work upon the present reduced number of judges; but it is probable that the suddenly developed and unexpected conservatism of several of the judges appointed by Mr. Lincoln will add force to the movement." This will be either the third or fourth attempt to tinker the Supreme Court for party purposes, and we have no doubt there is sense enough in Congress to defeat it. The number of judges was reduced about a year ago to prevent Mr. Johnson filling a vacancy. Then, in order to prevent a decision hostile to the reconstruction acts, an attempt was made to make a two-thirds vote necessary to a decision declaring laws unconstitutional, in order to paralyze the supposed "conservative" majority. None of these attacks on the independence of the Court had any result beyond alarming and disgusting the public, and contributing to Republican defeats at the polls. Nobody who knows anything of the moral condition of political circles at this moment in Washington, of the overwhelming influence of "rings" on legislation, would see without the utmost alarm the manipulation of the Court, with a view to influencing its decisions, by whichever party happened to have the majority. What the Republicans do this year by way of increasing or diminishing the number of judges for their purposes, the Democrats would do next for theirs; and we should soon see the Court converted into the most contemptible engine of corruption and demoralization ever witnessed in a civilized country. A judge reduced to the condition of a "creature," either of a king or a party, is a loathsome sight; but the sight of a whole bench reduced to the condition of creatures of "a whiskey ring," for instance, would be something in-

describably sad; and we say deliberately that if the tinkering of the Court for party purposes be persisted in, there is every probability that this sight we shall at last see in the seat of Marshall and Story. One of the unfortunate results of the Republican assaults on the Court last winter is that to make it safe even to enlarge the number of the judges, so as to lighten the labor of the present incumbents, we shall have to wait for calmer times, when no political issues are likely to come up for judicial decision.

Mr. G. W. Curtis has been delivering his lecture on "Political Morality," in Boston, and we learn from the report of the local press that during its delivery about half the audience were "uneasy," owing, doubtless, to his allusions to the outcry against Mr. Fessenden. We have no doubt whatever that when Mr. Curtis receives reinforcements in his attacks on corruption and immorality, as he will before long, from the other lecturers, this phenomenon of "uneasiness" on the part of audiences will be just as common as it was in the anti-slavery agitation down to the outbreak of the war. At first, two-thirds were "uneasy," when slavery was denounced, or even mentioned; then only one-half; then only one-third; and now anybody who chooses to declaim on the equality of men is received with "the wildest enthusiasm," in other words, nobody is made "uneasy." So will it be with the doctrine that individual conscience is of more value to the nation than party discipline. In forming our judgment about the attacks on Mr. Fessenden, the question of his guilt or innocence is of secondary consequence. The theory preached by his assailants was, that all talk of "conscience" on the part of a politician, no matter who he was, acting against his party, even in a judicial proceeding, was "cant," and impudent cant at that. Now the truth is that this happens to be "a doctrine of devils," and, if generally adopted, would ruin any government ever set up, and a democratic government sooner than any other. It has, therefore, to be denounced, the wriggling of radical "moralists" on their seats to the contrary notwithstanding; and the more they wriggle, the more closely, we trust, the lecturers of the future will stick to the point. The "uneasiness" is simply a sign that the medicine is operating. In this city you cannot denounce judicial corruption without perceiving signs of trouble amongst the audience, but judicial corruption is for all that a bad thing.

Mr. Henry C. Carey replies to M. Benard, in the November number of the *Journal des Economistes*, with reference to the charge made against him by the latter of having defended slavery at two meetings of the Political Economy Society, in Paris, showing, and, as well as we can judge, conclusively, that what he did do was to defend gradual as opposed to immediate emancipation. His evidence, beyond his own recollection, is somewhat imperfect, but it is strong, and, taken in connection with his utterances elsewhere about slavery, leaves no room for doubt. Moreover, M. Benard does not reply. Mr. Carey then replies to M. Benard's insinuation regarding the connection between slavery and protection, and, amongst other propositions, makes the extraordinary one that the tide of emigration to this country rises and falls with the tariff. Mr. Carey displays on this point the same contempt for elementary logic which he has shown in his discussion of the question of literary property. A good illustration of the way he reasons is to be found in the fact that he passes over in complete silence the state of things in the country which the emigrant leaves, as if that had nothing whatever to do with their emigration; for instance, he ascribes the prodigious exodus from Ireland in 1847, the year following the great famine, to the working of the American tariff of 1842.

The *Free Trader*, of this city, seems, in the matter of reasoning, to be one of Mr. Carey's disciples. It berates the *Nation* savagely for pronouncing "absurd" M. Benard's suggestion that a protectionist must necessarily be a friend of slavery, and argues with great vehemence that protection being one form of robbery, and slavery another, there is nothing at all "absurd" in asserting that a friend of high tariffs is presumptively an advocate of forced labor. This reminds us of a story, whether true or invented by a wag we cannot say, of an abolitionist who maintained on the platform, in the old days of the agitation, that anybody who so far countenanced the United States Constitution as even to drop a let-

ter into the mail, only needed the opportunity to become a pirate or a highway robber. If the *Free Trader* supposes it is going to convert the public to any rational opinion by wild nonsense of this sort, it will find itself greatly mistaken. Even if it be true that the principle of protection and that of slavery are the same, protectionists are no more logical than high Calvinists, or Berkeleyans, or any other holders of troublesome theories. In arguing for free trade as for everything else, if persuasion is the object aimed at, the facts of life must be admitted, else the argument becomes rant and the audience laugh. People know that there are thousands of protectionists in the United States who hate slavery, and, knowing it, when they read such "demonstrations" as the one we are discussing in the *Free Trader*, they use the periodical to wrap their groceries in and vote for a high tariff.

The Supreme Court of Hamburg has rendered a decision exculpating Herr Sloman, the owner of the vessel, for the dreadful suffering on board the *Leibnitz*, during its memorable voyage to this port, where it arrived with its passengers decimated by contagion, and reduced, as was alleged, by insufficient and spoiled food, overcrowding, and bad ventilation; as well as on its recent voyage to Quebec under a changed name (the *Liebig*), when out of 534 passengers 40 died, amid similar complaints of bad treatment. The public here, however, were convinced at the time that a fearful responsibility rested upon those who sent the vessel to sea in such a condition, and will learn of this decision not only with surprise but almost with incredulity. Nevertheless, Herr Sloman, whose wealth, as perhaps the largest shipper in all Germany, may possibly have influenced the court in its decision, sends a triumphant circular to the German press with the evidence of his acquittal, and endeavors to fix upon a certain class of emigrants the charge of exciting discontent where no reasonable ground for it exists. Singularly enough, the case appears to turn on the nature of the disease whose ravages were so tremendous; since, if it was typhus, as asserted by the German physicians here, then the fault must have lain in the vessel; if cholera, as Herr Sloman insists and the Bremen expert decided, then the outbreak of it was due to Providence, even though it took place in mid ocean, after nine months' cessation of the disease in Germany. The vessel seems to have kept just within the limits of the law.

We made a slip last week in calling the Hartford *Post* "General Hawley's paper," the fact being that the *Courant* is General Hawley's paper, and that he has no connection with the *Post*, as we really knew very well. We suppose we owe, for this error, an apology to the editor of the *Post*, and to anybody else who feels aggrieved. The *Courant* is an excellent paper, and so is the *Post*, and General Hawley is an excellent and distinguished man, and this being the case, there cannot be much harm done in any quarter.

The republicans of Cadiz have come very near turning the Spanish revolution into a repulsive and shabby imitation of the French tragedy of 1848-9. They have apparently little patience and little faith in discussion, and would not wait for the meeting of the Constituent Cortes, and, growing tired of arguing with the monarchists, took arms and for a few days held the town against the troops. Luckily they have surrendered without much bloodshed. In so far as the incident has produced any effect on the public mind, it has probably strengthened the hands of the monarchists; and if Prim be really intriguing for the crown, or wishes to force a monarchical form of government on the country, those republicans who advocate an appeal to arms are simply playing into his hands. He has the army well in hand, and the army cares nothing about "your right side or your wrong side," as John Leech's big drayman in *Punch* says to the driver of the pony wagon. Moreover, when it comes to fighting, the mass of timid people in every country begin to long for a "strong government," and instinctively get behind the big battalions. The outbreak furnishes an additional reason for desiring foreign sympathizers to stop sending burning manifestoes to the Spaniards, telling them what form of government to set up. The sensible portion of the Spanish people won't mind these sage counsels, while the Reds and madcaps may be incited by them into violence. The Republican Committee of Madrid has

issued a proclamation acknowledging that since the expulsion of Isabella the party has lost many of its ablest and most distinguished adherents, but denouncing constitutional monarchy in strong though not unjust language, showing the fallacy of the doctrine that it is suited to every people or every state of society. Unfortunately the same arguments might be used against republicanism. The address is composed in the inflated style which now seems to be the one universally adopted by Continental liberals, and, to those who believe in the connection between language and thought, is not pleasant or hopeful reading. The popular loan of \$100,000,000, which started so well, is likely to prove a great failure.

The desire for grand changes which for years has been agitating the thin upper layer of Russian society, the layer containing all its more or less civilized and progressive elements, continues to manifest itself in its peculiar crude and eccentric manner. We hear again of socialistic conspiracies emanating from the "nihilistic" centres at Moscow and Kiev. Ladies of high rank are agitating for the establishment of a Woman's University. At the same time the favorite organs of both radical and fashionable circles not only applaud the crusade waged by the Government against everything Polish or Catholic, as well as the gradual restriction of the German-Protestant and Jewish populations, but vehemently condemn the "leniency" with which the work of Russification is managed in the empire; and this at a moment when the Polish priests transported to Siberia are being removed to more remote regions of that wilderness; when the tens of thousands of Lithuanians carried there a few years ago are declared to be Siberian "settlers" for ever; when the Polish students of Wilna are compelled to exchange their prayer-books for others in Russian in which prayers for the Czar are substituted for patriotic invocations; when the Catholic villagers of Grodno and Kovno are being escorted by military force into the churches to listen to a Russianized ritual, and similar measures are daily decreed and executed in every part of the western provinces—measures the like of which have not been attempted since Philip II. extirpated the religion and nationality of the Moriscoes.

Dr. Vámbéry, the celebrated Hungarian traveller, announced, some weeks ago, in a letter to the London *Times*, that the arrival at St. Petersburg of an envoy from the Khan of Khokand, a region of Eastern Turkestan, was due to the fact, not that this potentate loved Russia, but that he is threatened with dethronement by an unpleasant person named Yakoob Kooshbeghi, who holds sway in Chinese Tartary on his eastern frontier, and who is stirring up against him all the furious fanatics of his own dominions. The envoy of the Khan has, of course, been received right royally, and the acquisition of Khokand, as a fief will bring the Russian troops to the feet of the Karakorum Pass in the Eastern Himalayas. More recently has come the news, which is now throwing British India into a ferment, that the Eastern Himalayas, which were supposed to be impassable for an army, have been discovered by Mr. T. D. Forsyth, a civil servant, to be very passable indeed; that the grades by one pass at least—Chanchenmoo—are so easy that a railroad might be made over it, while by that of Karakorum troops can readily pass with artillery, and eastern Turkestan is found to be so rich, that an army moving southward can advance in plenty to the foot of the mountains. It is the ruler of this very region who is now making his submission at St. Petersburg. Moreover, the Chinese, who are, however, we regret, on their account, to say, suspected of lying, assert the Czar has already secured a cantonment at a place called Gurmah, which commands all the passes. Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy, is accordingly deliberating whether it is time to fight now or to negotiate, the danger being that Russia may use her position in the Himalayas to paralyze British resistance to her designs on Constantinople. The authorities at home are so alarmed that the new ministry have determined—so say the latest telegrams—to subject poor Lord Mayo to the humiliation of a recall almost before he reaches India; to retain Sir John Lawrence in the Governor-Generalship one year longer; and then to replace him by a really able man, the Earl of Salisbury. There is talk, too, of a convention of some kind with Russia, to fix the possible boundaries between the two empires.

THE PRESIDENT'S LAST MESSAGE.

MR. JOHNSON'S last message has been calling forth, during the past week, a good deal of laughter and indignation; but it is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to the history of the times, and will probably shed more light for future generations on the story of his quarrels with Congress than any other state paper which the crisis has produced. It is of some importance—indeed, we might say, of a good deal of importance—to the Republican party, both for the sake of its name and memory, and for the sake of its present influence, to justify the estimate of his character on which its hostility to him during the last three years has been based. Now, his “policy,” his speeches and messages, and conversations with reporters, bad as many of them were, did not, for various reasons, furnish convincing evidence on this point to the world at large. The notion by which he became possessed when he took office, that it was his business to have a “policy” in the matter of reconstruction and to carry it out, was one which came to him in regular succession from Mr. Lincoln along with the Presidential office. Mr. Lincoln held it and acted on it, with the concurrence of Congress and the approval of the people, having acquired it naturally enough through the exaltation given to the executive branch of the Government by the war. A great many doubtful things had to be covered by the “war power,” and of this power the commander-in-chief of the army and navy naturally secured the lion's share. Therefore, Mr. Johnson's undertaking to reconstruct under his own hand and seal really did not shock or alarm Radical leaders till they found out that he was not a Radical. It was then, and then only, that they fell back on the constitutional limitations to executive authority, and then, too, for the first time, the Democrats, who had been for four years thundering against Mr. Lincoln's usurpations, became enamored of executive discretion, and began to fight against Congressional government. Still, Mr. Johnson would probably have been completely beaten in the eyes of all parties after a little discussion, if Congress had merely sought to assert its own exclusive authority over reconstruction. It was the peculiar kind of reconstruction resolved on—that is, reconstruction based on negro suffrage—which secured for the President the continued support of the Democratic party, and brought him out of the contest on this particular point, vanquished indeed, but not confuted—that is to say, he had very nearly half the voting population of the North still on his side; and foolish as his pertinacity in urging his opinion on Congress undoubtedly was, from a practical point of view, it wore, to a vast number of people, the appearance of honest firmness displayed in a good cause.

Circumstances favored him in somewhat the same way as regarded his outrageous speeches on his Western journey. They were, it was admitted on all hands, disgraceful, but the excesses of many of his prominent opponents in Congress in the same direction made their indignation seem partisan merely, and diminished very materially the darkness of his offence in the eyes of the public. There was, everybody felt in his secret heart, something a little absurd in the spectacle of his prosecution or persecution for the use of bad language, at the hands of persons like Thaddeus Stevens, General Butler, or Mr. Bingham. So, also, the impeachment lost all moral weight from the outset, owing to the fact that the particular offence which had brought the prosecution on him was one created for him specially, as a sort of trap, by avowed political enemies; the greater portion of the articles, and the very ones on which the managers afterwards most relied, having actually been pronounced untenable by some of the leading promoters of the process a few short months previously in the House. Moreover, the pains taken by the Republican politicians and newspapers to magnify his guilt, helped him all along. Their language was so extravagant and so often repeated that people at last began to laugh, and the crisis was then over. It was impossible to keep calling a man with whom a very large proportion of the American people sympathized “the greatest criminal of the age” without at last bringing about a reaction, and impossible to put up Messrs. Butler and Bingham to abuse him for the foulness of his tongue without making him seem a victim. He unquestionably gained in popular estimation every day the trial lasted. All that was wanted to give him the rank and honor of a martyr, to absolve him from his past sins and start him afresh in

public life, was his conviction and removal. This the vote of the “guilty seven” prevented. The good luck which presided over their “treachery” was dimly seen by some far-seeing people then; it has been growing plainer and plainer ever since. This last message of his has made it as clear as noonday. What the determined pursuit of the Republicans failed to do for their own justification, he has done himself. He was acquitted, and has been left alone ever since. No penalty is hanging over his head. He has no longer anything either to fear from his enemies or hope from his friends, and he has, as his last official utterance, produced a disquisition on public affairs which is marked by stupidity and dishonesty in about equal measure, and really throws a flood of light on his whole course. To discuss his financial theories, or his notions of national honor or political expediency, as displayed in that document, would be a waste of time and paper.

The message, too, is important from still another point of view. Mr. Johnson's great claim—in fact, his only claim—to the nomination which he got at the Baltimore Convention, was his “soundness on the main question,” and his having incurred “rebel hate for services rendered during the rebellion.” He had no others. His ignorance was notorious; his violence was notorious; his personal character was on one point, and that a very important one, very doubtful. But none of these things was allowed to have any weight. He had been faithful in dark days; he had been bitterly persecuted and was bitterly hated by the rebels and Copperheads; his recent acquisition of the arts of reading and writing (those were the War-Horse days) was dwelt upon as something rather worthy of admiration; and he was put into the second place in the government. After Mr. Lincoln's death the same song was chanted. “Rebel hate” was allowed to cover everything, to cover even the “damned spot” of the 4th of March, 1865; and the extraordinary principle that a man may be safely trusted with great offices of government simply because he has managed to make himself obnoxious to the public enemy, received a kind of solemn sanction. There never was a finer opportunity offered to a human being than was offered to him; no functionary ever received kinder, heartier, or blinder support. We see now what it has all ended in. The “rebel hate” did not keep him true to his principles for six months. He was found fondling the rebels before the summer of 1865 was over. His horror of treason vanished still more rapidly.

Finally, let us bespeak for him, in these his last official hours, still more the attention of those who love “outspoken, whole-souled statesmen,” and who distrust Grant because he won't talk politics. Only five years ago Mr. Johnson was their ideal man. His earnestness was of the red-hot variety. He hated “legal minds.” He hated precedent and experience. He was “a man of the people.” There was no doubt about his “views” on any subject, human or divine. The fountain of his “gab” never ceased to flow. Having passed his youth in blackest ignorance, having learned the alphabet from his wife, having been honored with every office in the gift of the people, and having a deadly hatred of aristocracy in all its forms, there was no problem in political science which he did not consider himself competent to solve. “Theorists” “dilettanti,” and “kid-glove politicians” fled howling and discomfited when they saw him coming. And now, after his four years of experience, here he stands, counselling a very ridiculous form of repudiation, which “Brick Pomeroy,” we see, claims the honor of having conceived, and pronouncing as firmly against the Congressional plan of reconstruction as the Pope against modern civilization.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

AFFAIRS in Spain have ceased to go well. The long interval which it was thought necessary to allow for the election of the Constitutional Convention is producing its legitimate result in armed collisions between the two great parties and in the shedding of blood, which seem likely to make a return to peaceful controversy very difficult, if not impossible. It is, of course, hard to say whether the delay was a misfortune simply or a fault. The theory of the Republicans seems to be that the Provisional Government, being composed in the main of monarchists, staved off the decision of the nation touching the new form of government partly because they knew the decision would be

against a monarchy if taken at once, and partly because they wanted time to provide themselves with a candidate for the throne. The Provisional Government reply, on the other hand, that a nation suddenly released from an absolutist yoke is never prepared to pronounce at once on its own destinies; that it needs time for the deliberation and discussion which under the old régime were impossible; that to have ordered the assembling of the Constituent Cortes immediately after the revolution, would have caused the election of its members before the people had made up their minds either as to the persons they wished to represent them or the instructions they wished to give them, and the decision thus arrived at would be tolerably sure not to stand long, and to be followed by a period of discontent and agitation.

The discussion as to which form of government—a monarchy or a republic—the Spanish people wants or is best fitted for, still rages, and apparently does not approach a satisfactory conclusion. The weight of authority—that is, the opinion of the calmest and ablest men—seems, as we said in a former article, to be on the side of monarchy. The Republicans have, however, the greatest number of agitators, owing to their strength in the great towns and amongst the professors and students. From the peasantry—that is, the bulk of the population—we have as yet no sign, or a very uncertain one. In judging of the form of government they want, we have to rely in a great measure on deductions from their character, habits, and political history, and yet there is probably no people in Europe about whose history, character, and habits foreigners know so little, or can learn so little, by any of the ordinary modes. Very few of the letters in the newspapers from Spain during the present crisis throw much light on the state of the popular mind in any place but Madrid; and of the political and constitutional history of Spain not one writer in fifty seems to have any knowledge whatever. The only articles in the foreign press which really help foreigners to a thorough understanding of the situation, because they are clearly from the pen of a man of the highest political culture, and who, if not a Spaniard himself, knows Spain thoroughly, have appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* under the signature of "Plus Ultra."

His theory is that the expulsion of Isabella is not really much of a revolution after all; that there is not a single reform which is now talked of as one of its consequences, which was not legally accomplished long ago; and that what the nation is now doing is returning to its old path of constitutional progress. He says there has been for half a century no legally established church in Spain and no monasteries; that the monasteries over whose destruction such a fuss is making have grown up in defiance of the law, through the guilty connivance of the Queen; that the absence of freedom of worship has been due not to the tyranny of the Catholic majority, but to the absence of Protestants; that all Spaniards are either Catholics or infidels, and that therefore no demand for formal toleration has ever come from any portion of the Spanish people, while the interference of foreign Bible societies has been resented as an impertinence; that there is no country in Europe in which freedom of opinion on religious as well as other subjects is so general; that, for instance, there is no European country in which a man's religious opinions, no matter how openly he declares them, or how obnoxious they may be to the majority, affect his social position so little; and that, therefore, it is a mistake to suppose that any real ecclesiastical bonds have been burst by the late uprising.

Coming down to the question of the future government, he shows that the administrative machinery of Spain is, in theory, the most perfect in existence; that in so far as it fails to produce good results the failure is due to the low state of the public morals; and that therefore what is wanted is not legislative reforms, but a general raising of the moral tone through freedom and education. He says, moreover, that there is no country in which local self-government or municipal independence is more deeply rooted in the habits of the people, that they have had it for ages, and had free legislative bodies before the English Parliament was known in history, and have, and have always had, the sentiment of social equality to a degree still unknown anywhere else—unknown, we take it, even in the United States. The Spanish noble and Spanish peasant address each other as equals and think of each other as equals, so that there is no attempt at the clumsy

self-assertion which is so often seen even here. To give an idea of the real historic Spanish feeling about kings, so far removed from the slavish "loyalty" which was extinguished in France at the Revolution, and is only now slowly expiring in England, he reproduces the coronation formula of the old Spanish Cortes, under which the king took office, "We, each of us being as good as you, and the whole of us better than you, appoint you our king, that you may maintain our laws and privileges; if not, we do not." This is, in spirit, exactly what the American people say to the newly elected President.

On the showing of this writer, Spain cannot be very far from republicanism, even if she have not yet reached it, inasmuch as she has what is better than republican opinions—the republican habit of mind. In the present crisis time is undoubtedly telling in favor of the republicans. The failure of the monarchists to produce a candidate is, as we pointed out a fortnight ago, either a great misfortune or a great blunder. For monarchy itself nobody in Spain professes the least respect or admiration. Even Prim speaks of it rather as a temporary expedient, pending the coming of something better, than as *per se* a good form of government. On these conditions, few men of the right class are now willing to accept a crown. Since the disappearance of the feeling of personal loyalty in Europe, and the loss by kings of the old "divinity" which hedged them, the pomps of monarchy have begun to seem very ridiculous, and its cost intolerable, and dynasties have become short-lived. The Russian crown is the only one on the continent now worn by divine right, and the Russian and Austrian thrones are the only ones filled by old royal lines. Every other kingdom may be said to have hired a king on contract and to keep continually threatening him with dismissal. In England the monarch enjoys ease and consideration, solely by almost total abstinence from interference in politics. The recent experience of the Spaniards has satisfied them that whether monarchy be good or bad depends mainly on the character of the monarch. So that the preaching of the monarchical party becomes less and less effective every day that passes without their producing a candidate for the throne. The republicans, on the other hand, are doing their best to relieve them of this difficulty by taking arms and allowing the section of communists, which seems to find a place in every republican party on the Continent, to threaten property. The result is, that the timid people and people who love order—that is, the great bulk of the Spanish, as of every other civilized community—and the capitalists, who, when really frightened, are a most powerful class everywhere, may be sickened of republicanism, and sickened before many weeks, and welcome Prim or anybody else as a dictator—that is, monarchy or no monarchy, accept the rule of the strong hand—and all hope of a free government may thus disappear for another generation. We still trust that the magnificent common sense and self-restraint which have thus far marked the conduct of the people will, however, assert their sway in the end, and save the fruits of the revolution.

In the meantime nothing is so much to be deprecated as the rage which seems to prevail in certain quarters for giving the Spaniards advice. There is hardly a bankrupt politician in Europe who has not forwarded them a letter or a poem, giving them a few hints as to how they ought to manage their affairs, what kind of government is best suited for them, and by what class of considerations they ought to be guided in their political course. As usual, those who have made the most ridiculous failures themselves as practical politicians, such as Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Emile Girardin, and Mazzini, are most positive in their conclusions as to what is the right thing for the Spaniards to do in the present crisis. We are sorry to see that there is a disposition to follow their example in this country, and that it is receiving the countenance of Mr. Sumner, who on questions of foreign politics is usually a sound and sensible guide. If anybody will recall the kind of advice which Americans received even from the warm friends of the country abroad during the years 1861-2, and the woful ignorance of the main conditions of the problems to be solved which was displayed in these communications, he will see in an instant the folly as well as impertinence of all attempts from the outside to assist a nation in making up its mind on such points as are now presented to the judgment of the Spanish people. The very fact that national

habits and character and passions and prejudices do more than half the work in shaping the national destinies, and *ought* of right to do more than half of it, is of itself sufficient to make sensible men pause before they attempt to assist Spaniards or any other people in framing a government. Such interference is made all the more improper in the present instance by the division of the Spanish public into two parties, with one of which foreigners must, in offering any advice at all, seem to take part, and we know how Americans relish this sort of thing themselves. We in America, let us add, shall be able to recommend republicanism to foreign nations more effectually when we have extirpated the "whiskey thieves," reformed the civil service, and made permanent arrangements for the payment of the national debt. In the meantime we shall best serve the cause by attending to our own business. There is a touch of the comic given to this propagandist zeal by the fact that the greatest display of it is made by Frenchmen, who as republicans have proved the greatest failures of modern times.

THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE BILL.

SOME years ago, when it was deemed useful to make a thorough investigation of the English foreign service, a circular despatch was sent by the Foreign Office to all its agents abroad, asking for information, suggestions, and opinions as to the defects of the service and the mode of improving it, and for reports giving a statement or synopsis of the organization of the diplomatic service of the governments to which they were respectively accredited. Among those reports may be found one from Lord Lyons, then at Washington, now at Paris, and one from Lord Napier, then at the Hague, formerly at Washington. There is also contained in the same publication a vast mass of evidence, comprised in the answers to more than three thousand questions. Perhaps if our own Government had pursued such a course we should know more than we now do, and perhaps, again, a pretty good excuse for not having done it is that the English publication is so full that there is little left to be said on the subject. If any one really thinks that our own service does not need reform, he is referred to that publication, the fullest discussion ever yet produced of the organization of a foreign service, and he will find in it food for reflection, if not facts to convince him. With only this reference to the work, we return to the bill reported to the Senate at the last session of Congress.

The division of the different classes of diplomatic representatives into grades of compensation, as "compensation of first grade," of second grade, third grade, and so on, might be omitted with advantage; at least, no advantage is perceived in the arrangement. The scale of grades is no doubt intended to apply exclusively to salaries, and not to the rank of the officers; but it might not always be so understood abroad, or not clearly understood. Certainty and convenience will be consulted by accepting, or following, in its simplest form, the scale of rank recommended by the Congress of Vienna of 1815, and that of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1818, and now universally recognized and acted upon; though the point is not urged as an important one. There is no difficulty in adjusting the pay to the exigencies of the service in different countries, by the form of the expression at present in use for that purpose, without the dubious use of the word "grade" in connection with both rank and compensation.

Whether it is good policy to consolidate several missions, as proposed in the bill, is certainly worthy of serious discussion. It is believed that some of its results can be indicated in advance. As to the treaties which are occasionally required to be negotiated abroad, it is not now seen why the plan might not be made to work well in most cases, if in some it would involve disadvantages which a resident negotiator would either not experience or would find very much diminished. On the other hand, as to the general purpose, duties, and benefits of diplomatic representation, it would be, as to the residence and influence of the minister, a practical abolition of the consolidated missions. Every one who has seen anything of diplomatic service knows the difficulty of obtaining valuable and reliable political information by any other means than a residence, and appropriate social and official intercourse. Occasional and short visits would afford the Government somewhat better information than the newspaper telegrams, by reason of the visitor's official character and access, but would fall far short of

the fulness and accuracy of information derived by residence. The event of war between the two countries would immediately increase the difficulty, partly by material obstacles, and partly by the greater reserve and jealousy of a government seeing the same agent accredited to itself and to its enemy. And the same feeling may exist in a large measure in time of peace. Change the bill a little and consolidate Sweden with Russia, and Denmark with Prussia, and how would our minister be received at the smaller courts named? Is it much or any better in the case of Spain and Portugal? The relations between Holland and Belgium were at one time as sensitive, and so have often been those between Denmark and Sweden. It may be asked, how does the jealous or alarmed power receive the minister of its threatening or intriguing neighbor, and why not in the same manner our ministers holding the consolidated missions? The difference is material. One only needs to know the world a little, without being experienced in diplomacy, to know that the minister for foreign affairs, and all the principal official people of a government, might be willing to communicate to one diplomat, having confidence in him, what they could not afford to hint to another. The effect of consolidation, simply as such, and under ordinary circumstances, on the minds and dispositions of the courts thus united, would not be good, as far as it went; but that this would be, of itself, a serious obstacle to agreeable and successful diplomatic intercourse, might not be safely or justly asserted. Not many years ago Prussia tried the system of consolidations, and the plan of reducing some ministers to charges, but soon returned to her former and her present system of full and separate missions.

But if the policy of consolidation is adopted, the form of expression employed in the bill would seem to be about the least appropriate that could easily have been devised. The minister should be accredited directly to the powers named as equals, and even in alphabetic order, instead of saying: "To Spain, [to be accredited also to Portugal]." . . . "To Belgium [to be accredited also to Holland]." . . . "To Sweden [to be accredited also to Denmark]." It is probable that the commissions, made out by the State Department and signed by the President, would run correctly. But this is not sufficient. Foreign governments will be accurately informed of our system, as expressed in the statute, and it would not be very agreeable to any of them to observe themselves thus disposed of in brackets; especially if they had heard the Western criticism on Mr. Brackett's sermon. "Who preached to-day?" enquired one friend of another. "Mr. Brackett, the new minister." "Mr. Brackett? Brackett! bracket! I believe the definition of bracket is 'something that could be left out without hurting the sense.'"

What is the precise official rank, and what is to be the commission, of those officers styled in the bill as first secretaries of legation at one post, and required to act as *chargés* at another? Will the Government accredit a *chargé* to the same court to which it has accredited an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary? If so, there is confusion; if not, if he is only secretary, and detailed as *chargé*, then his rank at the court where he officiates, which in Europe is something to be considered, will be that of secretary, with the duties of *chargé* imposed upon him under disadvantages. He is thus crippled as *chargé*, while being of no use and rendering no service at all as first secretary of legation, not being at the same court with his chief, and being further trammelled, as *chargé*, by being under the official direction of a chief whom, in an emergency, he cannot consult in time.

In matters of economy, whatever may be gained by the whole bill (and of this we have made no estimate), there does not seem to be anything gained by these special arrangements now under discussion. In the case of Belgium and Holland there is an increased expense of \$7,000, while in the case of Denmark and Sweden there is a saving of only \$500. But in these cases, and in all others of consolidation provided for by the bill, what is its practical operation? Only this: nominally two missions are consolidated into one under an envoy; but practically at one of them an underpaid *chargé*, with only the official, at least the commissioned, rank of secretary, does the labor of a former minister-resident; while at the other—no more important or difficult—a minister gets increased rank, increased pay, and a secretary of

legation (his second secretary) not now allowed, for doing what is now done by himself or some other resident under the present system of rank and pay.

This objection and the one just preceding are not directed against an increase of pay, which at present is sadly deficient, nor against consolidation, as such; for it is not denied that there might exist cases where consolidation could be made to work well. The objections are made to the machinery of the bill. And it will probably be found that if at any time any two or more missions can be welded into one, the doing of it will have to be left to the varying exigencies of the service, judged by the Department of State or by the Foreign Service Board, as the abolition or suspension of some missions is left to the Foreign Office, and practically to the permanent under-secretary, in England; and that it is a matter which cannot be safely and permanently regulated by statute.

If any consolidations are adopted, it ought for the same reason to be left to executive direction, or to the Foreign Service Board, to prescribe at which capital the minister shall reside. Any attempt to regulate this in the bill will involve future inconvenience and disadvantage. This could not be better illustrated than by the patent fact that in one case the residence of the minister, as indicated in the bill, is clearly not the one at present most required, if determined either by the relative importance of our diplomatic business with the two powers, or by the delicate and almost vital relations which the bracketed power holds to the present peace and future "compensations" of the greater powers of Europe.

As regards compensation, any attempt to graduate it according to the supposed political importance of the mission, or to the extent, population, and power of the country in which it is maintained, will result in failure and inequality. The Government pays the senators from Rhode Island and Delaware as much as those from New York and Pennsylvania, because it costs one as much as the other to live at Washington. Having determined that a mission ought to be established or retained, the true question is, What will support it? Considered in this way, none of the salaries are at present too large, if, indeed, any of them are large enough; and the inequality between the highest and the lowest salaries, as at present fixed by law, is out of all just proportion to the real difference in the cost of living. Many things which must be purchased and used much more freely in court society than is necessary in private life cost more at the second and third-rate capitals than at the great centres; while only house-rent, always the first thing seized on in the calculation, and fuel, cost less. A family can live as well on \$10,000, or at most on \$12,000, a year in Paris or London as upon \$7,500 in Constantinople, Lisbon, Brussels, Copenhagen, or Stockholm. Yet there is twice this difference in existing salaries. In all the capitals the expense of suitably furnishing an establishment is very large; the Government gives nothing towards it, and the property is sold at a great sacrifice or brought home at a great expense. On this subject the bill is a great improvement on the existing system, but is itself susceptible of improvement. While there is not so great a difference as is generally supposed in the cost of living at different capitals, yet there is a difference, and it should be regarded in fixing the scale of pay; and in this attempt the bill is not entirely successful. It gives, as reported to the Senate by the committee, less to Vienna, one of the most expensive capitals in Europe, than to Brussels, one of the least expensive; and gives only the same to St. Petersburg, the most expensive capital in the world, as to Berlin, the least expensive of all the great capitals.

The world is changing; and, as we believe, it changes for the better. As private rights and interests become more important and more sacred, the different political communities of the world become more closely knit together in destiny and interest. The time has passed when even the ambassador of the Sublime Porte at the court of the Hapsburgs would peremptorily order to be hanged to a tree in his court-yard a couple of his servants who had given him insolent language in a drunken spree, and seek to give the performance a moral point by ornamenting their necks as they dangled from the limb with the bottles which they had emptied by imbibing too freely. And the time has passed when any people, with a progressive and

elastic civilization and political development, can afford to neglect the employment of the best means to secure intelligent, influential, and efficient diplomatic representation. Enlightened and honest diplomacy has become a permanent power in shaping and directing the affairs of the world.

AT THE SPRING.

[FROM THE RUSSIAN OF COUNT ALEXIS TOLSTOI.]

A SPRING in an orchard of cherries,
The prints of a girl's bare foot,
And deeply impressed beside them
The marks of a nail-studded boot.

All is still in the place of their meeting,
Yet my spirit with jealousy burns,
Hears the whispers, the passionate pleading,
The noise as the pail overturns.

E. S.

OUR TOWN NOMENCLATURE.

If an American desires to awaken in himself that sense of humility which is so good for us all upon proper occasion, there is no better way—none, that is, of equal triviality in itself—than to compare the Post-office Directory or Railroad Guide of his own country with that of some country of Europe. The very names of the depots on the Muddefontaine Railroad call up the picture of the treeless plain, with dingy, white one-storied houses and unpainted shanties, the inevitable corner groceries and shingle palaces of hotels which, in nine cases out of ten, represent the dreadful transition period when nature has been expelled and art has not yet taken its place. But when you run your eye down the list of the stations in Bradshaw, with what pleasing memories your mind is carried back to that September walk through the rural villages of Cheshire and Derbyshire, or the May morning that you drove over from Warwick to Kenilworth. The names are redolent of antiquity and quiet culture.

After all, it is not altogether a matter of indifference whether the name of the town where you live—which you pronounce a dozen times a day—is well or ill-sounding, calls up agreeable or unpleasant associations. But it may well be questioned whether we deserve as a nation the very bad reputation which we have for prosaic and unmeaning nomenclature; or rather, whether we deserve it any more than older nations, and those of different race. When we trace these much-admired names of English, French, and German towns back to their primitive meaning, we find them to be full as trivial and prosaic as ours. The radical syllable of Rochester means "rock;" of Shrewsbury, "shrub;" of Worcester, "forest;" of Leicester, "field." Only the moss of ages has grown over these old vases and hidden the material of which they are made, while our brand-new ware betrays on its face that it is nothing but stone-china.

It is our misfortune that we have not had time to let names grow up, but have been obliged to invent them and impose them without regard to appropriateness upon the places that have sprung up to our hands. In doing this we were lucky when we found an Indian name ready for us and had the good sense to let it remain. In this way we are provided with a very respectable list of well-sounding names, which have the great advantage of being really *proper nouns*; for there is but one Nantucket, Chicago, or Oswego. The names mean nothing, to be sure—that is, mean nothing to us; and if their meaning were known, it is not at all likely it would describe the present town. But, for the matter of that, neither do English names mean anything to the present generation.

The truest names, of course, are those which do describe—such as most foreign names were in their origin. Oxford and Cambridge, Interlaken and Lauterbrunnen, Amphipolis and Ostia, we see at a glance what these mean; are they a whit more poetical than Lockport, Brookline, Little Rock, Black Earth, Yellow Springs, and Sunken Hollow? If our impatience in colonization would allow time, names of this class—the most genuine names we have—would count by the hundred instead of the dozen. As it is, names must be devised as best they can, and a new settlement is well off when it has a Mrs. Clavers to draw by lot one so unobjectionable as Montecute. A more probable fate is to be burdened for ever with such meaningless appellations as Palmyra, New Madrid, or Lafayette.

The two classes of names just mentioned—Indian names and descriptive ones—stand at the head in our classification of American nomenclature. Equally excellent, perhaps, are those which do not describe but embody some historical reminiscence, like Providence, Yonkers (the home-stand of the "younger" son), Cincinnati, Council Bluffs, Fort Edward.

Towns which immortalize a founder, benefactor, or eminent citizen (not the endless string of Washingtons, Jeffersons, and Jacksons) have done well; but they do best of all if they use his name only as material, and construct some such compound as Ogdensburg, Binghamton, Marblehead, Saybrook, Wilkesbarre. Some surnames, indeed, answer very well alone, as Keene, Cleveland, Castine. And in compounds the Southern affix "ville," and the Northern "town," show the *joining* too readily, as in Knoxville and Stewartstown; while "burg," "ton," "field," and sometimes "boro'," as in Vicksburg, Lecompton, Pittsfield, and Brattleboro', form a well-sounding and dignified combination. There are also a few excellent names constructed out of names already existing—not the Newton Centre, Newton Corner, West Newton, East Newton, Newton Upper Falls, Newton Lower Falls, and Newtonville, which are so characteristic of New England—but such as Tarringford, Stanwich, Lynnfield, Newburyport, and Osawatomie (at the confluence of the Osage and Pottawatomie).

This pretty much exhausts the categories of good names, unless we except European names brought with them by actual settlers and preserved through affection for their old homes—like Boston, Plymouth, New Berne, Vevay. Leaving these aside, we have in our American towns hardly more than dreary repetitions of London, Paris, Rome, Syracuse, Franklin, Madison, and others as meaningless (in this use of them) as these. Not that other nations do any better than we. We do not reiterate Washington and Jefferson any more persistently than our English cousins do Victoria and Albert, whenever they have a chance. Fortunately, they have little chance at home, but their colonies ring with them; and when they have used these as often as they dare, they fall back upon the unfeeling storehouse at home, and find nothing better than Birmingham, Liverpool, and Exeter. They show, indeed, even less originality than we do; only they are a little bit more skilful in their borrowing.

Neither did the Greeks and Romans do better. As soon as they had occasion to *give* names, after the spontaneous growth of these had ceased, they showed the same poverty of ideas and servility of practice. Epaminondas could think of no better name for the Arcadian capital that he founded than "the great city"—Megalopolis. Hamilcar called his colony in Spain New Carthage. Constantine the Great named his new metropolis after himself. Colonia Agrippina still lives in Cologne, Augusta Vindelicorum in Augsburg, Augusta Taurinorum in Turin. And the Alexandrias, Cæsareas, and Heracleas rivalled in number the Washingtons and Wellingtons of the present day.

In short, the poverty of our geographical nomenclature is not caused by our being an unpoetical people, but by our having fallen into the hands of the Philistines. City fathers are "Philistines" of the worst type; and it is they who devise these new barbarities, and, in fact, spoil so many good old names. Once they tried to change the classic "Frog Pond" to "Serpentine Lake;" but the effort failed. They have abolished one of our best and most descriptive names, Roxbury, and substituted "Boston Highlands." They altered the historical "Dorchester Heights" into "South Boston." So "Fall River" once became "Troy," but speedily grew tired of its new title and resumed the old. It was another set of Philistines that attempted to give the stately Tahawa the empty name Mt. Marcy, and that requires you to direct your letters for "Bar Harbor" to "East Eden." To the same class New England owes the "Silver Lakes" and "Crystal Lakes" that adorn every town. Indeed, if the display of a poetical sense in bestowing names is to be the criterion, we venture to say that there is nowhere more of it than here. Silver Lake and Crystal Lake, which have now become so ridiculously common, were at first an effort at something at once descriptive and elegant. It is really a poetical sense, if a mistaken one, that wishes to banish homely names like Frog Pond and Mill Dam. It is the same sense of musical sound that gives us the repetitions of names of the class of Melrose, Belmont, Fairmount, and Waverley.

But there are better examples than these sentimentalisms; names much more genuine than those imposed by city councils or legislative committees, which give good proof of "the imaginative faculty in full health and strength" which Mr. Lowell claims for his countrymen. These are the secondary or popular names, of which so many are found in all parts of the country, and which are in nearly all cases really descriptive and poetical. The Bay State, the Granite State, the Empire State, the Keystone State, the Hoosier State, the Monument City, the Crescent City, the City of Elms—these are all genuine names. Sometimes a touch of racy humor comes in, as in the State of Camden and Amboy, Egypt, the Blue Hen, the Panhandle, the City of Magnificent Distances, Gotham. And here, too, imitation has gone to work and devised similar names in cold blood, not waiting for them to develop themselves. And a coarse and vulgar humor delights in such abominations as Hard Scrabble, Shakerag, Squash End, Purgatory, Burnt Coat,

Lick Lizzard, Skunk's Misery, Git-up-and-git. One county in Virginia boasts the names Negro Foot, Hell Town, Buzzard Roost, Bull Ring, Polecat, Negationburg, and Dog Town.

Although our remarks have been for the most part confined to the names of towns, yet the same principles apply, of course, to all geographical names. The States of the Union are, almost without exception, very well named—either Indian names, as Connecticut and Alabama; old home names, as Maine and New Hampshire; or names of historical reminiscence, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina, Florida. Vermont is a descriptive name, so are Montana and Nevada, and, in a quaint way, Rhode Island. The names of counties in the older States were generally transferred from England by the early settlers. In the new States they are very apt to be repetitions of the names of Revolutionary generals and other eminent men; almost every State has its Greene, Knox, Lincoln, Marion, and Wayne. As the territory is cut up and the counties are laid out after the chess-board fashion long before it is settled, nothing better than this could be expected; and if anything peculiar by any chance comes into existence, an enterprising community is pretty sure to become ashamed of it before long—as the other day they changed Bad-Ax County in Wisconsin into Vernon. It is a wonder that Illinois has suffered Jo Daviess to stand so long.

Mountains, rivers, and lakes are almost always tolerably well named. The native titles have held their own in regard to these better than in political divisions, and when these have been set aside it has been very commonly in favor of some old settler who has well deserved such commemoration, or of some bit of actual description. No names are better merited than the Crawford Notch, the Hudson River, and Lake Champlain. Descriptive names for these objects are rather monotonous, to be sure; for when once we have run through the obvious features—Haystack, Saddle Mountain, Sugarloaf, Camel's Hump, Green Lake, Black River, Mad River, Stony Brook, etc.—it is hard to make anything less prominent do service in nomenclature.

There is, however, one useful source of variety in the difference of generic names in different parts of the country. The "brook" of New England is a "kill" along the Hudson, a "run" in Virginia, a "bayou" in Louisiana, and, alas! a "creek" everywhere else. There is a certain variety also in the names of mountains—as Killington Peak in Vermont, Peaks of Otter in Virginia, Blue Ridge in the same State, Blue Mounds in Wisconsin, and Sierra Nevada in California. For lake we have only the New England "pond;" "mere" perhaps exists as an exotic in a few instances, and a sheet of water in Vermont was a few years ago christened "Lama Water," in honor of General Wool! Again, the "notch" of New England is a "clove" at the Catskills, and a "gap" further South.

Finally, justice has hardly been done to the degree in which our proper names have been affected by the different nationalities which discovered and settled different parts of the country. The traveller up the Hudson is gratified by the quaint and picturesque names that he meets, which perpetuate the memory of the Dutch time. The French have left a similar enduring monument of themselves along the Mississippi, not only in Louisiana, but in all the States near its source. Beaufort and Port Royal commemorate the Huguenot settlement in South Carolina; the La Moille River, Calais, and Mt. Desert the Jesuit missionary enterprises which never obtained a lasting foothold in New England. Not only is all California Spanish, but Santa Rosa and Fernandina remind us that Spain once had Florida too.

It is not to be expected that the naming of our towns, counties, and streets will ever be got out of the hands of the Philistines; all that we can look for is to preserve Indian names wherever they can be found, and possibly to persuade the powers that be, when there already exists a good, homely, picturesque name, to let it alone.

THE THEATRE OF OUR DAY.

HERR WILHELM MARR, writing recently in the *Post* of Berlin, declares that the theatre is an institution which no longer flourishes. In fact, he announces that its day has wholly passed. Almost everybody has always thought so. Yet we shall undoubtedly transmit the theatre. But, unlike most of the men and women who would unite with him in upholding the conclusion to which he has come, Herr Marr offers to the disbelievers in the theatre a philosophic theory and reasons to fortify their unbelief. Generally, the old theatre-goers, who maintain that the day of the theatre is past, tell us with mingled pity and triumph of the glories of this or that artist, of the matchless grace and feeling of the actor and actress whom they first saw playing Pauline and Claude, or Charles and Lady Teazle; of the archness of the Rosalind and the melan choly of the Jaques whom they knew when they were twenty-one; of the

Hamlet or the Iago or the Macbeth of whom time has since relentlessly robbed the stage, and whose place can never again be supplied. Abstracted from all such considerations, Herr Marr contends that so long as the theatre flourished, it was a mirror of high life to the low, and of low life to the high; whenever it was interesting, it was as a picture of a *terra incognita*. But, says he, with the growth and culture of modern society, the ordinary daily life of the spectator of theatrical performances has come into competition with the life depicted on the stage; nowadays our own experience offers us the reality of all that of which the stage presents us with the mere shows and shadows. So the theatre decays.

This theory has ingenuity and some show of reason, and, so far, is good. But it is the beauty of a theory that it shall fit the facts of the case; and as regards that matter, we incline to think that this one fails.

The Greek stage, both the tragic and the comic, occupied itself not with foreign but with domestic scenes. For the lovers of it there was, to be sure, poetry, which is of no age and no country; but we may be sure that, whatever may be true of its immortal life, its contemporary life the Greek stage got not from its poetry but from something else. The Roman theatre, too, busied itself with the slaves, the soldiers, the legacy-hunters, the women, the gossipers, the heroes, whom the Roman theatre-goers knew; who, indeed, they were. Then, as always, the stage had for its principal and most lucrative business, though not for its sole business, to hold the mirror up to nature. The mediæval theatre, too, with its monkish lessees and managers, its Vices and Virtues, and demons and angels, its contests between the saint and the great adversary, was a faithful reflex of the thought and feeling of the age. The English stage and the Spanish, which were first to escape from religious bonds, both reached their highest success—so far as concerns the pecuniary returns from audiences—when they portrayed the "cloak and sword" life of the towns of the Peninsula, and the wars at home and abroad of the Edwards and Richards and Henries.

It is certainly so to a very great extent now, and whenever it is not so, it is another theory than that of Herr Marr which seems to account for the present condition of the stage. The strong tendency to-day in the theatre of France, of England, and of this country is to the dramatizing of the people and events among whom we live. We should say that, as a means of intellectual pleasure, the theatre constantly grows more and more realistic. Take this city, for example, and most theatre-goers would be more inclined to predict success for a tragedy or comedy which should put before the audience the Battery or the Bowery or the Fifth Avenue, and should show men and women supposed to be and to do and to suffer in New York and Brooklyn, than to predict it for a play the scenes of which should be laid in the Forest of Arden or in Verona, and the characters in which should be kings and not counterfeiters and kidnappers, knights rather than detective policemen, princesses instead of women of the town or distressed American mothers and wives and young ladies.

But whether what we have just said be accepted or rejected, there are other things to be taken into consideration before Herr Marr's conclusion is admitted to be sound. We demand of our managers that they shall put before us scenery painted as that is in "Geneviève de Brabant," for instance, which artists applaud as being in its own way equal to the best work of good landscape-painters. We make our favorite actors and actresses—indeed, one may say all our players—appear before us in dresses of great cost, of the latest fashion, of historical accuracy, and of the richest material. We require expensive orchestras to delight the sense of hearing as the other accessories of the stage delight the eye. A manager's troupe must contain fine-looking men and women, and his repertory of dramas must contain many which have no reason for existing except that they furnish opportunities for the lavish display of personal charms, or are replete with laughable absurdity, or with fun-making of a character more or less low and very often coarse, or with still more demoralizing, because more sensual, appeals to the vulgar love for mere sensationalism.

But the stage is not now, as it was in the time of Sophocles, and as it was in the time of Shakespeare, the best means for publishing an author's works, almost the only place where author and public could meet. To a certain extent the press has supplanted the stage as it has supplanted the rostrum also, and the pulpit. And to a certain extent the theatre may be said to have decayed, just as the pulpit has and as the platform has, but we doubt if it can be said to have decayed any more. It is on another footing than it was before; it is now relegated to the sphere of mere amusement, and finds in the opera—which to most people, though of course not to all, affords a sensual rather than an intellectual pleasure—a dangerous rival. We now read books and newspapers in order to get our mental pabulum,

and we pay little attention to comedians and tragedians, the men who instructed our grandfathers and grandmothers in the days before Hoe was born, and when as yet fast presses were not. We work during the day; we are engaged, even furiously, in mental labors that task the mind to an extent of which our leisurely ancestors had no conception, and in ways of which they knew nothing; and our theatres, which are what their audiences make them, give us "Opéra Bouffé," "Ixion," and three hundred nights of "Humpty Dumpty," simply because we give ourselves ten or twelve hours daily of exhausting toil. Wall Street being what it is to-day, and 1868 being what it is in Wall Street—the age being so exacting as it is in regard to mental labor, and so rich as it is to give us intellectual employment and enjoyment—we naturally enough have disused the theatre, so far as it addresses the intellect, and developed those qualities of it in virtue of which it is a means of mere amusement and of more or less sensual excitation.

This condition of the theatre may, it is true, be called its decline and decay, though our generation will certainly be much less willing to acknowledge it than their fathers would, it being yearly more generally recognized that play is as necessary and is as honorable as labor; that is to say, so long as it is play, so long as it has not reached the point when itself becomes labor; where pleasure is a business. The theatre, we are all beginning to think, as our fathers could not, is serving a purpose no less useful when it simply makes us laugh, or when it legitimately addresses merely physical emotions or mixed physical and spiritual emotions, than it used to serve when it was the chosen abode of high intellectual literature. And there are doubts if even in that time it was not in most respects worse, by a good deal, than it is now. We incline to believe that it was decidedly "once upon a time" that the stage had that heyday which is talked about, and that it would be difficult for its present contemners and abusers to specify with exactness the time when it could have had their approval any more fully than now. In any event, Herr Marr seems to be wrong. There are more theatres and theatre-goers than there ever were before; actors and actresses are, as a class, more esteemed than ever before and more worthy of esteem; the total amount of badness and immorality in the plays of a decade is probably less in this than in other ages. Why, then, should it be said to have declined, unless one can say that to instruct people is a worthier object than to make them gay, that the bent bow is more honorable than the bow relaxed? This any one may, of course, say and believe; and we very likely might not contradict him if he did; but it is not what Herr Marr has been saying.

THE ARGUMENT IN THE LEGAL TENDER CASES.

WASHINGTON, December 11, 1868.

At the last term of the Supreme Court the cases of *Hepburn vs. Griswold* and *Bronson vs. Rhodes* were continued for reargument on the first Tuesday of the December term, and the order of March 2, which made this arrangement, also gave leave to the Attorney-General to be heard on the part of the United States, one of the points involved being the validity of the legal tender clause in the Act of Congress of 25th February, 1862, authorizing the issue of Treasury notes on the credit of the United States.

After listening for three entire days to the arguments on this great cause one may justly claim the right to express a certain feeling of disappointment at the close. Mr. Attorney-General Evarts, who can never resist the temptation to make fun of everybody and everything, is said to have expressed it as his opinion that there is really nothing in this matter of legal tender except that people will make too much of it. Setting aside the wit, there may and ought to be some truth in the remark, for otherwise the case should be argued a third time, very little having in this instance been made of the argument against the law. Mr. Curtis and Mr. Evarts have both spoken in its favor, while the only argument on the other side was that of Mr. Potter, of New York; and it is no reflection on Mr. Potter to say that he is not of the force necessary for supporting alone against such advocates the weight of so burdensome a cause. The speech of Mr. Potter contained many clever points, and touched more or less vigorously almost every imaginable argument, but it was discursive, loosely constructed, unequal, and not on a level with the occasion. Mr. Townsend's argument, which has received a good deal of praise, turned on a subordinate issue. There remained only the speeches of Mr. Curtis and Mr. Evarts, both on the same side, both marked by the undisputed ability of their authors, but in styles so different as to produce an effect as though one supplemented and completed the other.

Mr. Curtis's argument, which opened the case, was, as usual with him, one that will be admired by lawyers rather than by the public, but one that lawyers will probably admire as a model. Mr. Curtis argues with such

severity, such perfect logical sequence, such clearness, with so much of the judicial spirit, with such caution against assumptions of fact or law, and, above all, with such absence of any appeal to feelings that might disturb and mislead the judgment, that one hesitates to criticize, feeling as one must that the critic must begin by learning to place his criticism on the same level with the argument itself. Any one who is much interested in this legal tender question is justified in thinking it a disaster passing the limit of ordinary griefs that there has been no opportunity to hear an equally calm and severe review of the constitutional issue as seen from the opposite point of view.

Yet Mr. Curtis spoke little longer than an hour, and the essential part of his argument can be stated very concisely. Congress, he said, has the power to borrow money, and as an incident to this power Congress has the choice of means for its exercise, subject, however, to two limitations. The first of these limitations requires that the means should be appropriate and conducive to the end. The second requires that these means should not be prohibited by any express provision of the Constitution, nor by any just deduction or implication from its provisions. That the quality of legal tender was appropriate and conducive to the end of borrowing money was not to be questioned. But it was objected that the power to make paper money a legal tender was a distinct and substantive power not conferred upon Congress, and to this objection Mr. Curtis contented himself by replying that this power was subordinate, appropriate, and necessary to the really substantive power of borrowing. On this proposition Mr. Curtis rested his case.

Mr. Curtis is far too able a lawyer to have stopped at this point if he had thought himself safe in venturing further, for this was precisely the point on which most persons wished to hear argument. Mr. Curtis allowed that any just deduction or implication from the provisions of the Constitution might prohibit any special means of carrying out a power, even though these means were otherwise appropriate and conducive to the end. The very question in dispute was, therefore, whether any such implication or deduction could be drawn. Our Constitution, with its doctrine of limited powers, was supposed to have settled the principle that our Government, unlike most other governments, could legally do only those acts which of right might be done; that there was in it, speaking in general terms, no supreme power, even in the last resort, to make wrong right or false true. And the question now to be settled rested on this very doubt whether a power of declaring by legislation the untruth that a piece of paper is equal in value to a pound of gold, and of compelling the people to accept it at that value, is one of the powers which our Government may of right exercise. Mr. Curtis did not fairly meet this difficulty by showing that our Government was not bound to respect a private contract.

Mr. Evarts saw this gap in the chain of argument clearly enough, and was not restrained from defending it by any such spirit of caution, if it was caution, as restrained Mr. Curtis. Mr. Evarts's audacity in the face of obstacles would make him even greater as a political leader than he is as an advocate. Against this point, which Mr. Curtis seemed to dread and shun, Mr. Evarts struck out with a degree of vehemence that showed the importance he put on it. For two hours he heaped argument on sarcasm and persuasion on ridicule to prove that legal tender was a matter of no consequence at all, an incidental power subordinate to mere purposes of government; or, if not this, then a power essential to national existence, not to be placed among the substantive powers of the Constitution, but above them.

"This power—necessary for emergencies, pernicious as a constant resource—shall not be accorded to the General Government as an independent and substantive power, for this would permit its exercise upon any motive and for its own sake. It shall find its place in the enabling clause of the Constitution which supplies authority for *all* legislation that is necessary and proper to carry into execution the powers in whose service the use of this expedient is justified, for thus alone can its use be conformed to the exigencies which should furnish at once its warrant and its measure."

And if it be asked what authority is to decide the existence of such an exigency, Mr. Evarts replies by quoting from the case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*: "The sound construction of the Constitution must allow to the national legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution." The court has only to decide whether the means selected by Congress were such as, in the judgment of the authorities charged with the duty, were appropriate to the end desired.

"Who, then, shall assume to place the integrity of the legal tender above the safety of the state?" The safety of the state is, therefore, the only standard for measuring constitutional powers. Mr. Evarts, of course, did not limit the application of this astonishing principle to the narrow exam-

ple of legal tender. On the contrary, he was eloquent in his vehement denunciation, and thundered his magnificent contempt for the very idea of a government that should propose to itself the strict observance of law and right in times of national peril. "Let the ship founder," said he, "that is built of material so frail." No private right, no supposed constitutional reservation is sacred enough to stand against national necessity, as estimated by the authorities entrusted with that duty. No mere principle of government, no axiom of political economy, no confidence in fundamental truths, shall interpose themselves between the people and the mistakes of their legislators. In times of national emergency the people have no rights except by the sufferance of Congress.

As a necessary deduction from this principle that the safety of the State is the measure of constitutional powers, it appears to follow, also, that a time of emergency may cause the permanent forfeiture of private rights. "This power [of legal tender]—necessary for emergencies, pernicious as a constant resource—shall find its place in the enabling clause of the Constitution which supplies authority for *all* legislation," etc. Under that power the husband may be torn from his wife, the son from his dying father, and the property of the country may be seized for the use of the Government in times of emergency. Three years of profound peace have now blessed our country, and yet under this same power the people are still compelled to receive paper at the value of gold. Mr. Evarts did not follow the line of argument out to its logical conclusion, but it appears to be inevitable that as legal tender is now legal and constitutional, so under the same principle *all* acts committed under the same authority may be made perpetual at the option of Congress, and work a permanent forfeiture of all private rights.

Just as Mr. Curtis's argument, therefore, stopped short of entire demonstration, the argument of Mr. Evarts leaped beyond it; nor does the case seem to be helped by Mr. Evarts's afterthought that the Fourteenth Amendment, declaring that the validity of the debt should never be questioned, covered the legal tender clause as well as the debt. If the debt is questioned, the legal tender clause will be responsible for it. Disregarding this as an evasion of the issue, one may say that as Mr. Curtis proved too little, so Mr. Evarts has proved too much; and that while Mr. Curtis seems to shun the issue, Mr. Evarts dashes at the obstacle of private rights, and, in overthrowing it, overthrows the whole fabric of our Government. No great advocate appeared before the court to fasten upon the point where these two arguments met without connecting, and one can only hope that the court, whose judgment in this case will certainly rank in authority with, and perhaps is to rank above, the Constitution, will supply these defects in the case as it has been argued. No one as yet knows when judgment will be given.

H. B. A.

ENGLAND.

LONDON, November 27, 1868.

WE have had a sufficiently interesting time for the last ten days to make up for a good deal of flatness and a considerable dearth of news for a long time before. Our new Parliament is elected—at least the number of elections which still remain to be made is insignificant, and the evidence as to the working of the new Reform Bill may be regarded as being complete as far as it goes. There can, I think, be no doubt at all that it has disappointed many sanguine expectations, and greatly encouraged many persons who had regarded it with unreasonable fear; but I doubt whether we are yet in a position to form anything like a judgment as to the real extent of the change which has been made. There is, as every one must have foreseen that there would be, a large Liberal majority in the new House; but it is remarkable that an unusually large proportion of the leading men of the Liberal party have been defeated in important contests. Mr. Mill was at the bottom of the poll in Westminster, and Mr. W. W. Smith, a Conservative, known principally as the greatest of railway booksellers—you may see slates bearing his name at nearly every station in the country, and I believe that he buys an enormous proportion of our most popular journals—was at the top of the poll by what we regard as a handsome majority, though the whole number of votes given would, I suppose, appear small in American eyes. Mr. Gladstone was defeated for South-west Lancashire, though, as he was elected in his absence and without canvassing or solicitation of any kind on his part at Greenwich, this is of little practical importance. A similar fate befell many others of less importance. All the working-man candidates, of whom there were a few—not more than four or five—were rejected in one way or another; and I think it is no exaggeration to say that the enthusiastic, philosophical subdivision, or wing, as I suppose you would say, of the Radical party has received a considerable check, for I do not think that a single man has been returned who could fairly be said to belong to it. Mr. Bright has shown a decided

consciousness of this in some of his latest speeches, which have in them a much more decided Radical tone than most of those which he has delivered for several years past. They sound as if he was meditating a more vigorous policy, a more decided appeal to the sympathies of the masses, than he has been in the habit of making for some time. In one of his speeches, for instance, he pointed out in a very significant way the advantages of having for an election-cry the freedom of the breakfast-table—meaning thereby the institution of direct for indirect taxation, or, what is the same thing, the transfer of the burden of taxation from the poor to the rich. He used other language of like purport about the reform of the laws relating to land. I do not think he sees his way as clearly when he writes or speaks upon this topic as he does in some other cases. It requires a good deal of acquaintance with technical law to discuss it in England without falling into all sorts of mistakes, and this is not one of Mr. Bright's accomplishments; but there was no mistaking the general tone of his address; and I should not be surprised if he and his party were to try to find out whether the enthusiasm of the new electors, who certainly have not been specially enthusiastic, though there can be no mistake as to the general tendency of their opinions, in favor of the very moderate dose of liberalism which has been administered to them, may not be much more decisively raised by an appeal to them upon broader and more popular issues. Upon this point the elections throw very little light indeed.

Whatever may be the end as to these rather recondite and remote questions, there will be very little doubt as to the prospect which lies before us in the immediate future. Parliament is to meet almost immediately, and Mr. Disraeli will be out of office before the session has lasted many days. The majority against him upon such a matter as a vote of want of confidence will in all probability be overwhelming. What will happen next is a very different question, and by no means a very plain one. I think little of various rumors which have been flying about to the effect that the Queen's personal disinclination to consent to the disendowment and disestablishment of the Irish Church is so strong that she will send for Lord Granville or Lord Stanley to make a new ministry, instead of Mr. Gladstone. I feel no doubt that Mr. Gladstone will be the man. Yet the doubtful point is how he will be able to manage to steer through all the obstacles which such a numerous and well led opposition as he will certainly have to encounter will be able to oppose to him. Large majorities often dwindle, and before the Irish Church can be fairly dissected out from the Irish nation and done away with altogether, a variety of difficult and delicate matters will have to be settled, which will act as so many stumbling-blocks to the minister by whom the measure has to be carried out. He would be a bold man who would say whether this session or the next either should see the Irish Church out. English institutions are anvils which wear out a surprising number of hammers.

One of the oddest incidents of the election has been the publication by Mr. Gladstone of a pamphlet called "A Chapter of Autobiography," which appears to me one of the most curious performances of its kind that I ever met with. As you no doubt remember, Mr. Gladstone's first performance in public life was the publication of a book called "The Church in its Relations to the State." This took place just thirty years ago, and provoked one of the best known—though not in my opinion one of the best—of Lord Macaulay's reviews. The book was an elaborate attempt to prove that the real object of the state was the propagation of religious truth—religious truth being, in Mr. Gladstone's opinion, comprised in the creed of the Church of England. Hence he inferred, amongst a variety of other things, that the Irish Church ought to be maintained, and that to disestablish it would be a great national sin. He has, of course, been considerably baited during the present election with taunts about the inconsistency between his youthful speculations and the policy of his mature age; and the pamphlet in question is meant to explain to the world at large how far he has really changed his mind; and upon what principles his change, such as it is, has proceeded. It is a very curious performance, too long to give you an abstract of in such a letter as this; but in a few words it sets forth how, when he was a young man at Oxford, Mr. Gladstone was carried away by High Church enthusiasm, and persuaded himself that the Church of England was about to convert the English nation at least, and to rise spiritually and morally to such a position as would enable it to form a sort of spiritual state correlative with the temporal one. He then sets out how, as time went on, he came to see that this conception of the possible relations of the state to the church would not work, and was in fact repudiated in all sorts of ways by Parliament whenever the occasion for doing so arose. This satisfied him after a certain time that he must look facts in the face, and accept the determination of the state to be essentially a lay body. The consequence of this, he says, was that he could no longer support the

Irish Church. To maintain it on the ground of its being the true Church was, he considered, an intelligible and high-minded course of policy; but to maintain it apart from the question of truth and falsehood, and from mere political considerations, would, he thought, be unjust and impolitic. He tells this story at inordinate length, for his pamphlet fills sixty or seventy good large octavo pages, and in a semi-ecclesiastical tone which is singularly characteristic of the man. One of his critics asked—as I thought very pertinently—how long it would be before he found out that the assumption that the Church of England represented religious truth was quite as doubtful as the assumption that the state ought to propagate religious truth, which it had taken him so many years to discover to be false? He is a very singular man, more characteristic than almost any other living politician of the age in which he lives, with its strange mixture of liberalism and ecclesiasticism. The feeling with which he is regarded by the party of which he is the recognized head oddly reflects the great division of opinion which exists upon all these topics. Few people like him all round. They are either afraid of his impulsive liberalism or inclined to despise the superstitious side of his character. Yet on the whole, and with those who do not look into matters very closely, he is decidedly popular.

Correspondence.

UNIVERSITY REFORMS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Doctor Hill's resignation of the presidency of Harvard College, and the deep interest with which the selection of his successor is anticipated by the alumni and friends of that institution, suggest the consideration of one phase of college reform which has hardly received the attention it deserves. We refer to the urgent need of change in the system of discipline which is felt by most of those who are acquainted with the internal management of our principal colleges. And this need is particularly manifest at Cambridge, where so many salutary reforms in other directions have been lately instituted.

At the beginning of the academic year 1867-68 the system of study at Harvard was materially changed, how much for the better the experience of a year only has amply shown. I do not purpose to speak of the new system further than to remark that, by greatly increasing the number of "elective" studies, it has opened to the undergraduates much wider opportunities for the gratification of individual preferences and tastes than is furnished at any other of our older colleges. At the same time the standard of admission has been gradually raised, and a rigorous system of written examinations during the course perfected, so that at last the old reproach, "Anybody can get through Harvard College," so familiar to all Cambridge men, is utterly undeserved.

Withal, the average age of graduating classes has become much greater than formerly, being at present about twenty-two years and a half. But with these salutary reforms in the direction of a true university, the disciplinary code remains about the same as in the good old time when the still unrepealed statute forbidding freshmen to wear their hats in the college yard was in full force. It is not, however, of laws which long ago became dead letters that I complain, but of the code still in force—a code which treats the young men of the nineteenth just as boys of the sixteenth century were treated; which, in place of the paper reward-of-merit of the primary school, gives a maximum mark of eight, and works through a perfectly organized system of police, of which the president of the college is chief, and whose spies—the word is a harsh one, but I use it considerably—are to be found in every department of the university.

If it be said, in defence of the present "marking system," that the students' emulation needs to be excited by some more tangible reward than acquaintance with mathematical formulas and Greek dialects, we reply that a system of gradual examinations, by which alone rank should be determined, ought to be amply sufficient for the end in view. The great objection to the present system is, that it turns the discipline which should be the end of study into a means for the attainment of a high place on the sheet of monthly averages, and makes a daily "eight spot" the morning hope and nightly dream of the ambitious student. The immaturity and triviality of student talk and student writing have been often commented on, and it is indisputable that too many of our college graduates, though men in years, are boys in intellect and character. How can this be otherwise so long as they are treated like children throughout the four years of their undergraduate life, and find the discipline of the primary school continued in the college?

But far graver objections than these exist against the disciplinary system proper pursued in American colleges. The conclusion is inevitable that it tends directly to make the conduct of students, in their relations with the faculty, the reverse of manly and honorable. It is a legal presumption that a suspected man is innocent until the contrary is proved; but at Cambridge, at least, the counter presumption generally obtains. It may even be said that a suspected student is supposed to lie until he proves that he speaks the truth. The result is as natural as it is deplorable. Espionage is met by cunning, and accusation by equivocation. Every graduate of the college must own that a thoroughly false system of morality is prevalent among undergraduates in their relations with the faculty; that young men, otherwise honorable, are too often to be found whose practice before a faculty meeting is, to use the mildest adjective, sharp, and who answer all remonstrances by declaring that it is lawful to fight the devil with fire. Students and instructors, in consequence, come to regard each other as natural enemies, and thus the governors and governed become thoroughly antagonistic bodies. And it is not generally until the lapse of time has softened old asperities that graduates begin to feel that affection for, and pride in, their college which ought from the beginning to be the strongest sentiment of college life.

This state of things is the fault of a vicious system, not of those who administer it, although it would be trusting human weakness too far to suppose that a college proctor may not sometimes search the musty armory of ancient statutes for a weapon with which to gratify some petty spite or avenge a boyish insult.

It is, of course, much easier to condemn a faulty system of government than to suggest a better one, and the amelioration of the state of things I have criticised must be the work of time and careful thought. But one step can be taken at once in the right direction. Let the president and senior professors of the oldest university in America be relieved from the duties of common policemen and night patrols. If necessary, make the pay of the proctors something more than nominal, and let its recipients constitute not, as at present, an incongruous body hanging on the outskirts of the government, but a responsible governing power, to whom primarily the discipline of the college shall be committed. Thus, in time, the present antagonism between professors and students might yield to that mutual good-will which, at present, has but a very feeble existence in any of our colleges. We are glad to learn that at the last meeting of the board of overseers at Cambridge a committee was chosen "to confer with the corporation as to the duties which ought to be assigned to the president, and to enquire whether any and what modifications in the charter and laws are necessary to place the office of president upon such footing as the interests of the university may require." It is certainly to be hoped that the next head of the college may not have his time and patience frittered away in the conning of rank-lists and the administering of admonitions.

No more brilliant career could be afforded to an executive and scholarly mind than the presidency of Harvard University might present. With the names of more than a thousand students upon her catalogues, to whom she is constantly opening wider fields of interest and instruction, and with the new life which is being infused into her management by the transference of her government into the hands of the alumni, let us hope that the presidential mantle may fall on shoulders broad enough to bear it, and that a man of dignity and firmness, yet neither a pedant nor a revolutionist, may fill the chair once occupied by Kirkland and Quincy.

But to succeed he must be freed from those petty and thankless duties which have too often, in times past, rendered the office as obnoxious to its holder as he himself has become to those from whom he ought to command a deep respect.

H. F. B.

U. S. NAVAL ACADEMY, Annapolis, Md.

THE DIVORCE QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Your remarks on the "Future of the Family" bring out strongly what seems to be the especial merit of the *Nation* on all topics—its recognition of existing facts. Most journals, for example, appear to discuss the woman's rights movement in utter obliviousness of the prime truth—which has provoked all the discussion on the subject—that modern civilization, by imparting to woman new culture and giving her new conditions of life to face, has produced, at least in America a new woman—a woman whom no Scott or Dickens or Thackeray has yet arisen to paint, and one who cannot live under the old limitations without constant chafing and wretchedness. Nor has any journal but yours, I believe, touched at all upon the great question which so many thoughtful men are asking themselves, "What is and will be the effect of the movement on the sexual relation?"

The ordinary treatment of the divorce question is equally narrow and unsatisfactory, ignoring wholly or partially these important facts and the conclusions they point to:

1. The general tendency of our older States is to enlarge the grounds for which divorces are granted. In the original thirteen States, for example, the close of every twenty years since the adoption of the Federal Constitution has found the divorce laws on the whole more liberal than they were at the end of the previous twenty years.

2. In a large number of our newer States it is now practically true that anybody earnestly and persistently seeking a divorce, for any reason whatever, succeeds in obtaining it sooner or later.

3. Connecticut for many years, and Indiana for more than half a century, have had exceedingly easy divorce laws. The Indiana statute authorizes any circuit judge in the State to decree a divorce to the "injured party" for any one of seven causes which are specified, or for "any other cause for which the court shall deem it proper that a divorce should be granted."

Whenever the opponents of easy divorce admit any of these facts, they always assume that their effect is baleful, and so beg the whole question. They frequently record that in Connecticut the divorces for a twelvemonth bear such or such a proportion to the marriages, and then, with a few comments, rest their case, as if that fact alone established an unhealthy or vicious condition of society. Why do they not give us argument instead of assertion? Why not prove by statistics, which the census reports place within everybody's reach, whether or not in the manufacturing State of Connecticut and the farming State of Indiana the ratio of mutes, lunatics, idiots, criminals, assignation houses, brothels, or illegitimate children is larger than in other manufacturing or farming States? Why not attempt to show whether there is more crime, secret and open; whether men and women are really less faithful husbands and wives and less tender fathers and mothers, and whether children grow up to be less pure and manly and womanly? That is the pith of the matter.

The burden of proof rests with the assailants. They allege that certain laws tend to the destruction of morality and the detriment of the general welfare. Two States deny the charge by keeping those laws in force until, in one, two generations have lived and died under them. They adhere steadfastly to those laws despite vehement denunciation and the grave practical disadvantage that the unhappily-wedded not only within their own borders, but also from half the rest of the Union, seek their courts for redress, and thus fasten upon them the additional odium of the multiplied cases of injustice and fraud which inevitably arise under all laws, however carefully administered.

Not only do Connecticut and Indiana do this, but the tendency of the other States is in the same general direction. Where do the advocates of rigid divorce laws fancy it is going to stop?

R.

NEW YORK, December 6, 1868.

MR. GARDNER AND CREEDS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I perceive that what I said in a letter published in your issue of November 5, conveyed a wrong impression to your mind as well as to that of others. Allow me to correct it.

I am interpreted as expressing a hostility to creeds *in toto* and *per se*. I not only disclaim the truth of this interpretation, and regret that I should have been so thoroughly misunderstood, but now reassert what I supposed I had clearly stated before, viz.: That I agree with all orthodox believers in considering *some* creed necessary to proper church organization, but differ very materially in regard to its *relative importance* in the same.

As I did not state my reasons for this conviction, I will do so now.

In the first place, then, as I said before, I conceive the whole spirit and teaching of the Scriptures to indicate the *brotherhood* of the church, and brotherhood implies at least unity of organization. For particular passages teaching the brotherhood of the church, see 1 Peter ii. 17; iii. 8; John xv.

We are all one in Christ, and Christ is our elder brother. We all acknowledge this, too, by addressing each other as brethren. The question then arises, how shall we organize so as to make this a living, palpable fact to the world as well as to ourselves? Manifestly, by making that the prominent idea or *basis* of our *visible* organization which is more than all else the index of the supposed fact.

Now, the cardinal doctrine of Christianity is an unconditional and unbiassed seeking after *purity of heart*, the legitimate result of which, we are taught, will be perfect love toward God and man—a fulfilment, in this way, of all the requirements of the law and the prophets.

What we, as a church or a brotherhood, wish to promote in ourselves, and make manifest to the world, is this *seeking after purity of heart*; and if we can find one characteristic which, more than any other, indicates to ourselves and others the fact of this new life begun, this should be the basis for our visible organization. What saith the Scriptures? "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren" (1 John iii. 14). Again, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another" (John xiii. 35).

The one characteristic of all others, then, which is best evidence to ourselves, and the world outside, that we have truly begun the better life, is "love," or, as the word is elsewhere translated, "charity." Neither of these terms seems to convey the true idea of the original word, "*ἀγάπη*," and in my previous communication I preferred to call it *sympathy*, as more nearly interpreting to our minds now what I understand to be the true signification of the word. We would make, then, "*ἀγάπη*," or "*sympathy*," the basis of church organization for the reasons above stated; and I feel called upon to say this, because I think it evident to Christians themselves, as well as the world at large, that "creed," by reason of the *relative importance* it holds in the church, is now and has from the first been the basis of Protestant Church organization—an error, I conceive, second only to the Catholic error of an organization upon the basis of "works." Faith has come to be synonymous with "creed," or the acceptance of a creed, and "creed" has thus virtually become the *door* of the church. Whereas Christ says, "I am the door" (John x. 9). To enter this door requires something more than the acceptance of a "creed"—an *experimental knowledge of the way through*, namely; and, as I said before, this is best expressed in one word, by "*trust*," not "*faith*." For this reason I think it does matter, "for the purposes of this discussion, how the word '*πίστις*' is translated."

But this experimental knowledge of Christ through trust in him results in "*ἀγάπη*," or sympathy with him and his teachings, as well as with all who have passed through a like experimental knowledge. We may not have all arrived at the result by exactly the same *mental processes*. In truth, so long as language is the imperfect medium it is now, and always has been, for the communication of ideas, it is foolish and unreasonable to expect it. It is sufficient to enquire whether the *result* has been attained. At this point, and not before, arises the necessity for church organization, and the new instinct which demands it should be its basis, for the same reason that another instinct is the basis of the *family* relation, and another of the state. Since, then, religious experience is the result of *thought and feeling* fused into one, and one is naught without the other, so far as religion is concerned, it seems illogical to me to maintain that "credo" is the basis of all religious as well as intellectual life.

Finally, let us, as Christians, manifest our love to Christ by loving each other, and not by wrangling as to *how* we all come to have this same love and can best assert it.

Very respectfully,

CHAS. GARDNER.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, Dec. 7, 1868.

[We did not maintain "that 'credo' was the basis of all religious life." We said it was the basis of all religious sects or denominations, and behind Mr. Gardner's "sympathy" and "trust" we still see his "credo" as plainly as possible.—ED. NATION.]

A SUBSCRIBER, a professor in the Burlington University (Vermont), writes to us expressing the hope "that the statement made by Miss Dickinson in a lecture delivered in Burlington a few days ago, that the number of your [our] subscribers was rapidly diminishing, is wholly without foundation," and he is pleased to add "that he should consider the failure of the *Nation* as one of the very bad signs of the times." Miss Dickinson's statement, of which we now hear for the first time, is "wholly without foundation." The number of subscribers to the *Nation* is and has for a long while been steadily increasing. We are sorry for Miss Dickinson's sake, and for the sake of the causes she advocates, that she should think it desirable to give stories of this kind a place in her lectures. Female politicians must, in order to justify their existence, and exercise that "purifying and elevating influence" on politics which the suffrage conventions promise us, in the first place set the male agitators an example of good taste. Now, it is in the worst possible taste for a lady to reply to an adverse criticism on her speeches and novels in the mode selected by Miss Dickinson in the present instance. In the second place, they must set male agitators an example of scrupulousness and accuracy of statement, especially in

speaking of their political enemies. This may seem a hard doctrine but we warrant its soundness. Instead of these things, however, most of the female politicians who have thus far appeared in the field seem to be copying the old male tricks with lamentable fidelity.

Notes.

LITERARY.

THE proprietors and conductors of the *American Journal of Mining* and of the Spanish *El Correo Hispano-Americano*—papers addressing special classes of readers, but, like many such journals, enjoying a considerable circulation—intend to add one more to the number of their periodicals. The new-comer, a monthly, is to be called the *Manufacturer and Builder*, and its title very well describes its character. It will be always non-political, only occasionally literary, and will have for its usual contents articles, some of them illustrated, on the different branches of manufactures; on the various kinds of manufacturing machinery; on the stone, lumber, and iron interests; on the strength and relative value of building materials; on lime, mortar, cement, sewage, ventilation, and kindred topics. In size the *Manufacturer and Builder* will be like the *London Engineer*. There is good reason to think that it will be a useful and well-conducted paper.—Messrs. Roberts Brothers announce an edition edited by Mrs. Hale—Mrs. S. J. Hale, we suppose—of Lady Wortley Montagu's Letters, and of Madame de Sévigné's. Both these works are wanted, and enough has been said of both of them by excellent writers to make it easy for the editor to do her work, and likely that when it is done it will be satisfactory to the reader. "Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life" is another of Roberts Brothers' announcements, and still another is a second work by the same author, Mr. John Neal, entitled "Great Plagues and Little Mysteries." Others are Mr. Arthur Helps's "Life of Christopher Columbus;" A. T. Teetgen's "Palingenesis," which is a poem depicting "the rise and progress of heterodoxy in a contemporary soul;" "Under the Lime Trees," which is already issued by the Appletons; "Tales of the Toys," by F. F. Broderip; John Timbs's "Eccentricities of Animal Life;" and "The Adventures of Hans Sterk," which appeared some time ago in Harper & Brothers' announcements.—In Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co.'s list of the Eckmann-Chatrion books the second is "The Conscript."—Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. will publish in book-form certain recently delivered sensational and otherwise not remarkable sermons on "The Failure of Protestantism," by the Reverend Doctor F. C. Ewer. The same house announces as to be published before the end of the current month, "A Half-Century with Juvenile Delinquents," which is a history of American societies for reforming youth, by the Rev. Mr. B. K. Pierce, and a "Globe Edition" of "Cowper's Poetical Works," to match the Scott, Dryden, Spenser, Dante (Cary's), Butler, Campbell, Burns, Milton, and Chaucer already issued.—Mr. M. W. Dodd announces "Watchwords for the Warfare of Life: from Dr. Martin Luther," a new work by the author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family." The same publisher has ready new editions, in various styles of beauty and at various prices, of all the works of this popular writer.

—Singularity enough, the "History of the Great Rebellion," by J. W. Jones and T. B. Morris, published at Utica by J. Mather Jones, is the first attempt at anything like a history of the United States in the Welsh language. There have been several spasmodic efforts in this direction in various periodicals, but nothing in the shape of a book. Considering the large number of Welsh people in the country, and especially the active part which many of them took in the early settlement of Pennsylvania in the seventeenth century, and more recently of our Western Territories, the lack of a Welsh history of the United States is a fact worth noting, though perhaps not more remarkable than the general absence of original book-writing in their own language among so intelligent a class of our adopted citizens. It certainly does not come from a want of ability to write such books, nor of a reading public to buy them. We account for it from the fact that the Welsh people assimilate native American tastes and habits more thoroughly, perhaps, than any other class of foreigners, save in two things—theology and poetry—and in these two they are thoroughly Welsh wherever found, and for reasons which readily suggest themselves. The authors of this history are veteran journalists, and they have performed their task with painstaking fidelity and conscientious regard for the truth. Of course there is no pretence of access to original information, but a thorough sifting of evidence as found in published works, with a view of giving a connected and intelligible narrative of the exciting events of our late civil war. From an examination of the volume we judge that

much the greater portion has been written by Mr. Morris, a facile writer and a thorough master of the Welsh language. It is hard for a stranger to conceive the difficulty of writing a good military work in the language of a people so unwarlike (of late years) as the Cambro-Britons. But the authors have been noticeably successful in this respect. Military movements are narrated and battles described in language at once smooth and intelligible, though many terms had to be coined to express the new agencies used in the art of war. But the work is not a history of the war merely; it aims to give an outline of all the notable events connected with the discovery and settlement of this continent by Europeans, the colonial history of our portion of it, the Revolutionary war, and the various administrations down to the breaking out of the rebellion. The space allotted to the discovery of the continent is small; but, considering the nature of the work, it might have been made smaller with advantage to both authors and readers; the tales of the Norsemen are recited with a circumstantiality altogether out of place in such a work. But when we come to the settlement of Pennsylvania by William Penn and his followers, the most interesting portion of early American history to the ancient Briton, the subject is dismissed with just three lines, a most inexcusable blunder in a work written exclusively for the use of the Welsh people. But the faults to be found with this work are few compared with its many excellences; indeed, with the above exception, we have hardly a fault to find with it. Typographically it is a handsome volume, with good type and good paper.

—A Boston correspondent points out an error into which we fell the other day in speaking of a certain historical compilation as being the work of Mr. C. M. Yonge and Mr. G. M. Sewell. The fact of the matter is, says our correspondent, who is on terms of friendship with one of the compilers, that the book is made by Miss Yonge, the author of "The Heir of Redclyffe"—as she persists in calling herself—who is well and favorably known as a worker in the field of history at second-hand, and by Miss E. M. Sewell. "Mr. G. M. Sewell," then, and "Messrs. Yonge & Sewell" are mistakes of the London *Publishers' Circular's* compositors and proof-readers, and we are sorry to have been led astray by them. Other recent English books, or such as are to be published soon, are these: Mr. Algernon Swinburne's "Bothwell" is said to be eagerly looked for and shortly expected. Poetry of a precisely opposite sort, so far as concerns the relative proportions of sounding words and sound thought, will be found in a new and needed edition of "Massinger's Plays," which will constitute one volume of the so-called "Mermaid Series." Next come the plays of Marlowe, who, if he was a little too much like Swinburne in some respects, was often sweet and strong and truly poetical. One volume of the now well-known and popular "Bayard Series" will be Hazlitt's "Round Table," and another will be "Rasselas," with Leigh Hunt's essay. A series which is, perhaps, of more importance than either of these we have just mentioned is the "Clarendon Press," which already numbers some thirty volumes of manuals of a high class in various branches of learning, from Anglo-Saxon literature to Greek tragedy, and from science to verbal criticism. The new volumes which are now, as we learn from Mr. Welford in the *Bookbinder*, very soon to be issued, are "A History of Germany and of the Empire to the Close of the Middle Ages," a "Constitutional History of England," by the Rev. Mr. W. Stubbs; a "History of Germany from the Reformation," by Mr. A. W. Ward; a "History of British India," by Mr. S. Owen; and a "History of Greece," by E. A. Freeman. These are all the results of the careful sifting of larger works by trained readers and students of historical literature. "Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery," etc., we may very probably take an early occasion to notice more at length. Mr. Moxon—who, by the way, has never, so far as we know, explained the nature of the transaction by which he made his edition of Lamb's works complete at the expense of a Boston publisher and an American collector of ana—puts forth a new edition of Elia's writings. It is prefixed by an essay written by George Augustus Sala. "A Life [whitewashing] of Lucrezia Borgia" is announced, and the author claims to have as a foundation for it some rare and hitherto unpublished documents. The Countess de Boissy has aided Mr. Herbert Jerningham, attaché of the British embassy in Paris, and translator of her book about Byron, by writing for his version of the "Recollections" several new chapters.

—The Lowell Institute, having invited Robert von Schlagintweit to deliver an English course of his admirable lectures in Boston, it may interest many of our readers to hear something of him and his family. A glance at the route lines of the "Uebersichts-Karte," attached to the first volume of the "Reisen in Indien und Hoch-Asien," just published by Hermann von Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski, will show the extraordinary

extent and character of the scientific travels executed by the author and his younger brothers, Adolph and Robert, at the expense of the East India Company, in the most interesting parts of the Eastern world. These lines, for the most part separately traversed by the brothers, extend from Galle, at the southern extremity of the Island of Ceylon, to Kashgar, in Chinese Turkestan, and from Kurrachee, west of the Indus Delta, to Sudiya, near the headwaters of the Brahmaputra—that is, from 6° to 39° N. L., and from 66° to 96° E. L., embracing not only all the regions south of the Ganges and Indus, but also Cashmere, Balti, Ladak, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bootan, Assam, and parts of China, and crossing the highest mountain ranges of the globe, the Himalaya, Karakorum, and Kuenlun. In Tibet Adolph and Robert ascended, in 1855, the Ibi-Gamin to the height of upward of twenty-two thousand feet, the highest point ever reached by a known traveller, and in the following year Hermann, accompanied by Robert, penetrated across the Karakorum and Kuenlun into Chinese Turkestan, thus earning the surname bestowed on him on his return to Germany, of Sakünlünski—that is (in Slavic), the Transkuenlunian. The northernmost point, Kashgar, was reached by Adolph alone, who perished there, in August, 1857, by the hands of the barbarous natives. Robert and Hermann had shortly before returned home, *via* Egypt, and it was long before they learned the tragic end of their heroic brother. Before their departure for the East, the three brothers—born in 1826, 1829, and 1833, respectively—had earned great fame as physical explorers of the Alps, having published the fruits of their explorations, during which Hermann and Adolph ascended the highest summit of Monte Rosa, in the "Untersuchungen über die physikalische Geographie der Alpen" (1850), and "Neue Untersuchungen über die physikalische Geographie und Geologie der Alpen" (1854). The richer fruits of the Eastern journeys are now being deposited in a grand publication in English, entitled "Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High-Asia," issued at Leipzig, and adorned with an atlas containing maps and pictorial views of great merit. The work is to consist of nine volumes, of which four have appeared (1860-1866). The contents of the whole are as follows: Vol. I., Astronomic Measurements and Magnetic Observations; Vol. II., Hypsometry; Vol. III., Topography of Western and Northern High-Asia, and Philological Glossary of Geographic Names; Vols. IV. and V., Meteorology; Vol. VI., Geology; Vol. VII., Botany and Zoölogy; Vol. VIII., Ethnography; Vol. IX., Geographical Sketches of India, the Himalayas, Tibet, and Turkestan. The German "Reisen" now before us may be regarded as a popular abridgment of the scientific "Results," with the admixture of particulars of a more personal character. This book, too, is a work of the highest merit, no less by its form and diction than by its contents. The Schlagintweit brothers, of whom the fifth, Emil (born 1835), is renowned as the author of "Buddhism in Tibet" (1863), and of "Die Könige von Tibet" (1865), and the third, Eduard (born 1831), wrote a history of the "Hispano-Moroccan War" of 1860, in which he partook, were all ennobled by King Maximilian II. of Bavaria, their native country. It was in the service of that country that Eduard fell, in July, 1866, in the battle of Kissingen, fighting bravely against the Prussians. The extraordinary collections of the travellers adorn their mansion at Jägersburg, near Forchheim, in Franconia.

—The Russian *Invalid* announces that after the 1st of January, 1869, it will cease to appear. This, as well as the other official papers, are to be replaced by a general official newspaper in the style of the French *Moniteur*, which will contain all the official decrees and announcements, and be called the *Government Messenger* (Pravitelstvennyi Vyestnik). The cessation of this celebrated paper, the organ of the Russian War Department, and of late edited with great ability, should hardly be allowed to pass without remark. The *Invalid* was founded in 1813 by Mr. Pezarovius, for the purpose of collecting money for the relief of the wounded. The first number was issued on the 1st of February, 1813, with only twelve subscribers. In three months the subscribers increased to eight hundred in St. Petersburg alone, and there were soon more than four thousand. From the earnings of the newspaper and from private contributions Pezarovius formed an *invalid fund*, with which in the year 1813 he gave pensions and temporary relief to 450 men, and in 1814 and 1815 to 1,200. In addition to this, at the end of the year 1815 he handed over to the committee for the wounded a fund of 395,000 roubles, and subsequently an annual revenue of 20,000 to 40,000 roubles. During the Crimean war the *Invalid* brought to the invalid fund more than 100,000 roubles. In 1860 the *Invalid* was farmed out, but when the conditions of the press changed it was necessary to place it under the immediate direction of the Minister of War. Since 1862 it has paid nothing to the invalid fund, but has even been obliged to have a subsidy, which, in 1867, beside the salaries of the editors, amounted to 23,770 roubles. The other newspapers at present official, such as the *North-*

ern Post, will be deprived of their subsidies and submitted to the general laws which govern the press.

—Trübner's latest *Literary Record* announces several important new publications on the languages and ethnology of India. Mr. W. W. Hunter, of the Bengal Civil Service, who has lately become so favorably known as author of the "The Annals of Rural Bengal," publishes "A Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High-Asia," a comprehensive compilation illustrative of Turanian speech, and embracing vocabularies of one hundred and forty-four dialects spoken by the scattered remnants of tribes and peoples who in pre-historic times were the masters of India and adjoining countries, but afterwards succumbed to the overwhelming power of Aryan conquerors. In elaborating his book, which cannot fail to advance the work of research now so vigorously pushed forward by Occidental scholars in the vast and promising field of Turanian philology, Mr. Hunter availed himself of extensive materials belonging to the public, official or scientific, institutions of Hindostan, as well as of valuable private collections placed at his disposal. For the convenience of students of various nationalities the equivalents of the Turanian words are given in English, French, German, Russian, and Latin. A "Sanskrit Prosody," by Charles Philip Brown, author of the Telugu Dictionary, is in the press. From the pen of Major Malleson, of the Bengal Staff Corps, we have "Essays and Lectures on Indian Historical Subjects," containing, among others, sketches of Count Lally, Havelock, and Hyder Ali's last war.

—The following named works, all gleaned from the same number of Trübner's *Record*, we group together as evidences of the activity of the Jewish mind in the fields of linguistic and antiquarian research: Adolphe Neubauer's "Géographie du Talmud," a work on the geography of Palestine according to the Talmud, which has gained a prize of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris); "French Views on Zoroastrianism," translated from the texts of M. Adolphe Franck, Member of the Institute, Professor at the Collège de France, and M. Jules Oppert, Professor at the Bibliothèque Impériale (Bomby); "Ursprung und Entwicklung der menschlichen Sprache und Vernunft" (Origin and Development of the Human Language and Reason), by L. Geiger (Vol. I, Stuttgart); and "Das Buch Kusari, von Jehudah ha-Levi," translated after the Hebrew version, and edited, with notes and a general introduction, by Dr. David Cassel (revised edition, Leipzig).

MORE JUVENILE LITERATURE.*

A SPECIMEN of the worst of all sorts of writing for children is "Patience Hathaway: a Story of Ivy Cottage." It depicts the kind of good boy who makes all ordinary vice seem respectable, and the kind of bad boy who never exists in nature, and beyond a doubt it can do nothing for its readers but vulgarize them and make them either hypocritical, self-conscious canters, or else harden them in openly evil courses. Charley Ray is good, so he uses as unexceptionable English as the author has at command; never strikes a blow; gives up all boyish amusements in order that he may spend his evenings in reading books of travel, histories, and other improving works, to a crippled young friend of his; forgives every enemy, rebukes with freedom sinners of all ages, and constantly puts them to the blush by the example of his nobility of character and the worldly success which attends all his steps. The bad boy, Dill, steals melons, will not run on errands, is ungrammatical, proceeds speedily to housebreaking, is obdurate as a flinty burglar of full age; but at the end of the book suddenly he suc-

cumbs to the coals of fire which are heaped on his head by the good people, young and old, whom he has causelessly injured. Good is not the word to be used in speaking of the crippled boy of artistic tastes. He is merely an angel of pronounced Christian character and experience, living in quiet pain with a family whose great coarseness of manner jars harshly on his feelings. The incidents of the story are as violently false as the human nature which it presents for inspection, and as vulgar in tone. The good genius of the story, a wealthy, unmarried lady of twenty-six or seven, with a hidden sorrow of the intense though subdued type, has her effects secretly conveyed to a country village, where at once every one hates her and back-bites her for no assignable reason except that she looks refined. She takes the lame boy into her house, having previously got for him an easy chair, which she procures with a stealthiness which makes her agent in the purchase almost shed tears of admiration at her modest goodness and benevolence. The lame boy is thirteen or fourteen years of age, and she relates to him one afternoon a very magaziny tale of her love for a young man, and her sudden bereavement, and the grief she thereafterwards bore, and thus reveals to him the secret cause of her pallor and her retired way of life and her occasional quiet tears. She saves from drowning an ill-mannered boy of fourteen or fifteen, who, with his young companions, attempts to break into Ivy Cottage at night. One of the companions is the brother of her dead lover; she reclaims him—"guilty and low as he is," as she remarks to him—and he by-and-by woos and marries an inmate of her house, "a drunkard's daughter"—as she tells the lame boy—whom she had rescued from poverty and degradation. In short, "Patience Hathaway" is a deleterious mixture of the cheap book for boys and the cheapest kind of sensational novel, and it is a matter of regret that any boy or girl should be in danger of reading it. It belongs, too, we may all be sorry to know, to a class of books for boys which are each year turned out in large numbers, whose praise is in a thousand journals, and which, if human nature were not enlisted against them, would do more harm, and of a more disgusting sort, than can at all be calculated. The authors mean well, too, and so are enabled to be all the more injurious. Of the author concerning whom we have just been giving our impressions, a leading religious paper says, after mentioning the fact that "his prolific pen has given to the public thirteen books within the last three or four years," that "he never wrote a line that he had occasion to erase." It seems certainly a duty for us to say that he and the school of which he is one ought never to have written a line at all; if they ought, then we know nothing of boys or of morality.

After going through such a book as Glance Gaylord's, it is more than doubly pleasant to read the charming narrative of "Miss Lily's Voyage Round the World." It was a journey which occupied no less than three or four hours, and in length it was nearly or quite two miles and two furlongs. The papa and mamma of Miss Lily having gone to Paris, and left her and her two cousins—the united ages of the three being nineteen years—in charge of their English governess and the cook, Jeannette, it is speedily resolved that inasmuch as sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, and the island of Juan Fernandez are to be found only at the end of the world, no class of people can be so happy as travellers; and further, that if a vessel can be secured and provisioned, the most distant countries shall at once be visited by Toto, Paul, and Miss Lily, and several islands shall be brought back, one for each of the discoverers and one for papa. What follows on this resolution makes up the story, and it is all very entertaining indeed. Little Peter, who is the fisherman's son—rising seven years of age, and a hard literalist for one so young—discovers for the small romancers an unused boat to which he leads them, and a certain quantity of victuals being saved by the children from their meals, it is but a day or two before they set out in search of islands and adventures. The first land they make is England.

"We have already lost sight of the coast of France," says Captain Paul, when they have gone down the river some half mile or so.

"They see in the distance clouds of smoke, from the midst of which bright flames escape. They hear far off a noise of hammering iron.

"I should n't wonder if that was Father Taboureaux's forge," says Little Peter.

"The Admiral shrugs her shoulders. 'That,' she says, 'is foggy England.'

"It is perfidious Albion, the land of shopkeepers," says Paul.

Toto does not want to go to England. There are too many governesses there. It is full of Miss Doras who oblige a little fellow to say 'yes,' and study, and who make them eat their bread and butter with the buttered side down when they do not read well.

"They reassure Toto. They will not land in a country so well known."

In rapid succession *La Belle Lily* sights Africa, with numbers of naked savages, the Isle of Bourbon, the Isle of France, Australia, Robinson Crusoe's Island, where she runs aground and the discoverers undergo many vicissitudes of fortune, till they are rescued by an artist, who takes them home to their

* "Miss Patience Hathaway: Her Friends and Her Enemies, and How She Returned Them Good for Evil. By Glance Gaylord." Boston: Henry A. Young & Co.

"Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, Planned by Four Adventurers. Miss Lily's Voyage Round the World, undertaken in company with Masters Paul and Toto, her two cousins, and Little Peter. Translated from the French by Miss I. M. Lyster. With forty-eight illustrations by L. Frölich." Boston: Roberts Brothers.

"Little Lou's Sayings and Doings. By the author of 'Little Susy's Six Birthdays,' etc., etc. With eight illustrations by M. L. Stone." New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1868.

"Tales for Little Convalescents. By Mrs. S. H. Bradford." New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1868.

"The Alphabet in Rhyme. Eight illustrations in oil colors." New York: American News Company, 1869.

"The Five Days' Entertainment at Wentworth Grange. By Francis Turner Palgrave, late Fellow of Exeter College, Cambridge." London: Macmillan & Co.; Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1868.

"Jack the Conqueror; or, Difficulties Overcome. By C. E. Bowen." New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1868.

"The Children's Album of Pretty Pictures, with Short Stories. By Uncle John." New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1868.

"Mountain Adventures in the Various Countries of the World. Selected from the Narratives of Celebrated Travellers. With thirty-seven illustrations." Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1868.

"Grandmother's Curiosity Cabinet. From the German of Mary Osten (Emile Elyer). Translated by Anna B. Cooke." Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1868.

"Our Young Folks. An Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls. Edited by J. T. Trowbridge and Lucy Larcom." Vol. IV. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1868.

"The Riverside Magazine for Young People. An Illustrated Monthly." Vol. II. New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1868.

anxious parents. Children may easily be imagined talking exactly like this bold crew, and "making believe" everything set down in the book. Nor is it so very hard a strain on the imagination to suppose them even doing what Paul and his friends are represented as having done. At all events, the young folks will be pleased at reading of the haps and mishaps of the circumnavigation, and will not be hurt at all by listening to the sound lecturing which the artist delivered to the wanderers when he found them in the pickle into which their thoughtless hardihood had brought them, and which could hardly have been in place if spoken to girls and boys on dry land safely playing at navigation. The illustrations, of which there is the very generous number of forty-eight, are by Lorenz Frölich. They are all pleasant and spirited, and are truly illustrations of the text.

"Little Lou's Sayings and Doings" is an American book, and a very pleasant and good one. It seems to be, in fact it must be, a record of a boy's performances till he was six or seven years old, and it relates his speeches, his meritorious actions, and a good many proofs of his depraved nature, in a way which cannot fail to interest parents, and which will command the attention and approval of the younger part of the reading public. It is a good while since we have happened on a book, whether for juvenile or adult readers, that seemed to be closer to absolute truth of portraiture, and the author is to be congratulated on her success, and to be thanked for the pleasure she gives as well as for the excellent example she sets. It is true, perhaps, that one should have had children in order not to find some of the matter rather trivial in its truthful simplicity; but the readers most interested will find nothing trivial; and then for the others—there is the simplicity, a quality of which people conversant with printed matter do not discover so very much in the course of their experience.

The writer of "Tales for Little Convalescents" we should like to praise heartily, her work is so kind throughout, and half of it—the half in the middle of the book—is so clever and amusing. That part of it, however, is clever because—being apparently drawn directly from actual occurrences—it lets the children talk and play while we overhear them; and it is amusing to us grown people, and not, we should suppose, to young readers. The rest of the book children may like, and it may very probably profit them; there is at the least nothing to injure them; but it is not well done; the fairy tale and the poetry are far beneath the "Class in Quizzical Geography" and the "Scenes in a Nursery." On the whole, however, the book is one to be commended, and nobody who buys it for his boys and girls will make a bad mistake.

"The Alphabet in Rhyme" is a "picture-book" with colored pictures, and as such may be of some service in the nursery, just as bright bits of cloth are and gay buttons. But a child is a good way from the innocency of learning his A, B, C when he can assimilate things like this, which ends the page devoted to E, and which refers to the national bird:

"His nest in the cliff
Overlooks the broad sea.
He is the emblem of Freedom,
The pride of the Free."

It is an odd mistake that this writer has made in fancying himself a writer for children, or indeed capable of being such.

"Five Days' Entertainment at Wentworth Grange," a pretty volume, in square octavo, and bound in dark-blue cloth, contains twenty-six tales and seventeen woodcuts, besides a very charming engraved vignette on the title-page. The illustrations ought to be mentioned in the title of the book, for they are all by Arthur Hughes, and into two or three of them he has put his full strength. His designs are always of very unequal merit, not only in this book but throughout the whole of his work as book illustrator and as painter. They are seldom uninteresting, however, and never affected or destitute of feeling; so that there is scarcely any artist whose handiwork it is pleasanter to meet. The poetry that there is in common things he well understands, as any one knows who may recollect the drawings of the boat in the illustrated "Enoch Arden," and the ingenious and fanciful designs of the cloth cover of the same book. And he is a master of expression of face, though that is lost often enough in the woodcuts. His original works are peculiarly valuable in this respect, and in some of the illustrations to the volume before us, especially in the little girl on the title-page, this power of his is delightfully shown.

As for the stories, they are strung together on the thread of a more rational and possible pentameron than we usually have. The stories told during five days by the oldest five of the young people who are spending their holiday at Wentworth Grange, have their supplement in Mrs. Wentworth's own story. We find among the tales some old—in fact, some oldest—friends agreeably retold: "Orpheus and Eurydice," "The Peasant Countess," and the pride of the Decameron, "The Story of the Falcon;"

others are new, and some of them very cleverly comic. The stories are arranged so as to illustrate the five senses, one of the senses to each day, with five tales concerning it. For children of ten or twelve years old, this is one of the best books of the time.

"Jack the Conqueror" is a good little story. Jack is a poor English boy who longs to know how to read. He has no one to help him, but one day a travelling artist who sketches him gives him sixpence, and tells him to help himself. The motto of the book is, "Resolve well and persevere," and this Jack carries out, till in the end he attains success. Jack is, to be sure, rather an unnaturally good boy; but as he is a brave, honest little fellow, and neither affected nor hypocritical, he is a very fair ideal for boys of ten years old, who, as a rule, prefer ideals to copies from real life. Besides, occasionally there is a real boy who is a little unnaturally good, and yet far from goody; it takes all kinds of people to make a world. The illustrations are of unusual excellence. The figures are lifelike and forcible. They offer, however, a great variety of Jacks, no one resembling another. It seems to us that the real Jack may have looked like the earnest-faced boy in the popular engraving of "Speed the Plough." At least the spirit of that picture is the spirit of the book.

Judging from the stories, the "Children's Album" was intended for very little children, but the pictures which make exactly half of it would give pleasure to young persons of almost any age. There are 178 woodcuts of various merit, and copied from all sorts of sources. Some of the plates are very much worn. Opposite each is a page of story in large type, made to match the illustration. One of these, by the way, is called "The Anaconda and the Boa Constrictor," "Anaconda" describing an African bull, which is again referred to in the text as "the poor stag." With the exception of this legend, and of three or four frightful pictures, such as the murder of the young princes in the Tower, which we should advise parents to cut out and burn, we do not see why a child might not be considered fortunate in the possession of the volume. The children's verdict will undoubtedly be in its favor.

We perhaps err in putting "Mountain Adventures" in the present category; yet, without professing to have been prepared for the young, it is well calculated to please and instruct the boy or girl engaged in grammar-school studies, not less than their parents. It is an English compilation founded on a Continental one, but varied by substituting for some of the original selections passages from the adventures of English explorers, including Tyndall, whose admirable style needs little adaptation for the comprehension of children. For the most part the scientific portions of these narratives have been purposely subordinated to the incidents, of which, while the range is very large, certain experiences and observations are necessarily repeated and leave a very distinct and accurate impression upon the mind. The extracts not only seem to be literal, even if condensed, but are in each instance carefully credited to the author and work from which they were taken. The pictures, finally, are good, and seem to have been drawn after photographs, which, wherever obtainable, might themselves with advantage have been given.

We cannot readily declare the proper age of readers for "Grandmother's Curiosity Cabinet." The little German Tertianer, or third-form boy, who figures in it, should be about eleven years old, and an American boy of the same age could comprehend most of the stories which the "Cabinet" supplies. The translation, however, is scarcely simple enough to be called successful, and often retains, as if for flavoring, a German word which it was hardly worth while to use, and which has to be explained immediately in a footnote. Indeed, these foot-notes of translation and pronunciation so abound as to make the book a sort of introduction to the German language—sometimes, also, to German manners. The stories themselves are of a class which is not new, and of which each year we are borrowing less and less from our Teutonic cousins.

The bound volumes of the two rival, yet in many families kindly agreeing, children's magazines known as "Our Young Folks" and the "River-side," should not be overlooked by those who seek reading for the young that will outlast the holidays. They present an almost exhaustless variety of stories and illustrations, and suit, in one way and another, all ages from the nursery up to the grammar or even high school.

Das Beständige in den Menschenrassen und die Spielweite ihrer Veränderlichkeit (Constancy and Range of Variation of the Human Species). Von Dr. A. Bastian. (Berlin: D. Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt.)—In a recent mention of this work, which does not lack learning nor a certain brilliancy of style, we spoke of it as merely the prolegomena to a larger work on civilized peoples; and we shall, therefore, dismiss it somewhat briefly, although of itself it makes a book of nearly three hundred pages octavo.

In general, we may say that the author, with a genuine scientific comprehensiveness, offers ingenious remarks on the natural and the supernatural, on descent, accumulation, craniology, philology, etc., etc., in their manifold relations to ethnology and anthropology. His short but characteristic sentences disclose a truly encyclopedic knowledge, which, on the side of natural philosophy especially, reminds one of Alexander von Humboldt. Dr. Bastian's views, if not always sustained by facts, are always referred to them, and lend whatever weight they have to our latter-day materialism. His more recent authorities, whose theses, however, he does not invariably adopt, but for the most part supplements and broadens from his own painstaking and long-continued studies, are principally Darwin's works, De Candolle's "Géographie botanique," and Nathusius's "Rassen des Schweines"—books which fairly embody the results of modern investigation. In a word, the volume before us may be described as an attempt to harmonize in an application to anthropology the natural laws which produce the various geological formations, physical phenomena, and animal and vegetable species. Since this is here rather suggested than exhibited in detail, we must await the author's more compendious work for a fuller

treatment of the subject. The present is illustrated by an ethnographic map, drawn by Prof. Kiepert, the first of several which are promised.

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